ARTHAŚĀSTRA-VYĀKHYĀ JAYAMAṄGALĀ

अर्थशास्त्रव्याख्या - जयमङ्गला

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

Jayamaṅgalā, the work edited here, is an important commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya. The commentator says at the outset that even as Kauṭalya composed the *Arthaśāstra* summarising the views of his predecessors, he has written his commentary embodying in it all that was found good in other commentaries on the work[1]. This shows that at the time of the commentator the *Arthaśāstra* was widely read and had several commentaries written on it. However during the centuries that followed, studies on the *Arthaśāstra* gradually declined, so much so that commentators like Mallināṭha had to explain the *Artha* topics in Kāvyas without direct reference to their source, and what is left at the present time is only a few manuscripts of the text and broken fragments of some commentaries, in a corner of India, *viz.*, Kerala. The text of Kauṭalya is generally terse and not easily understood. Therefore the traditional commentaries, however fragmentary they be, are of great value for a correct interpretation of the text. Among the commentaries so far discovered *Pratipadapañcikā* of Bhaṭṭasvāmin (available for II. 8-36), *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhava Yajvan (available for VII. 7-11 and VII. 15—XII. 4) and a Tamil-Malayalam commentary (available for I-VII) were made use of by Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri for his edition of the *Arthaśāstra* which he published with his own Sanskrit commentary in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* (Nos. 79, 80, 82). Later a fragment of another commentary containing the first two Adhikaraṇas and the first Adhyāya of the third Adhikaraṇa was secured by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, from the Paliyam family, Cochin, Kerala State. A paper transcript in Devanagari was made of this manuscript for the library (R. 5208) and the original was returned to the owner. Dr. Ganapati Sastri had another transcript made for himself but it reached him too late for use in his edition of the *Arthaśāstra*.

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1. पूर्वमतानि यथेदं संगृह्यैकं चकार कौटल्यः ।
टीकान्तराणि दृष्ट्वा सद्व्याख्यानं समुद्धृत्य ॥
क्रियते तथा मयापि त्यक्त्वा च ग्रन्थविस्तरं पूर्णा ।
बालहिता टीकेयम् । (p. 1)

On fuller examination this manuscript appeared to contain fragments of two different commentaries. The text covering the first Adhikaraṇa (Book I) is called *Jayamaṅgalā*[1] (hereafter referred to as *Jaya*) and the remaining portion, *Cāṇakyaṭīkā*. The name of the author of the *Jaya* is not known, while the *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* is mentioned as the work of Bhikṣuprabhamati[2] and from the corrupt state of the manuscript it is not possible to ascertain whether it is a continuation of the *Jaya*. I have not so far been able to trace in literature any reference to the *Jaya* fragment, but the *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* is found quoted by name in the *Ṭīkāsarvasva*, commentary on the *Amarakośa* by Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.), and the quotations could be verified in the manuscript.[3] There are several gaps, errors and corrupt passages in the manuscript and they are tolerably less in the *Jaya* fragment than in the other. From the style and language the commentary seems to be ancient. It throws light on several unexplained words and passages in Kauṭalīya and often provides valuable variant readings. I therefore thought of bringing out an edition of it even though it was fragmentary. The only original manuscript which would have been of use to me in deciphering the corrupt passages was known to have been sent to Europe by the owner.[4]

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1. This is evident from the colophon of the first Adhikaraṇa: 'समाप्तं चेदं कौटलीयार्थशास्त्रसद्व्याख्यानटीकायां जयमङ्गलायां विनयाधिकारिकं प्रथममधिकरणम्' । (p. 76)

2. The ending colophon of the third Adhyāya runs thus: 'इति भिक्षुप्रभमतिकृतायां चाणक्यटीकायाम् आध्यक्ष्ये दुर्गविधानं तृतीयं प्रकरणम् । तृतीयश्चाध्यायः' । (p. 107, Ms. with the editor).

3. (i) Cf. 'द्वीपिव्याघ्रयोरल्पमहत्तया भेदः' । (*Cāṇakyaṭīkā* on Kupyādhyakṣa, II. 17, p. 185 of Ms. with the editor) and 'द्वीपिव्याघ्रयोरल्पमहत्तया भेदः' इति चाणक्यटीकाकृतोक्तम् । (*Ṭīkāsarvasva*, II. 5.1, *TSS* 43, p. 214).

(ii) Cf. 'कुप्यमसारं द्रव्यम्' । (Ibid. Ms. p. 183) and 'कुप्याध्यक्षप्रचारे लोहवर्गश्चर्मवर्गो विषादिवर्गश्च दर्शितः, 'कुप्यमसारं द्रव्य'मिति तट्टीकाकृतश्च,' (Ibid. II. 9.22, *TSS* No. 51. p. 231)

(iii) रोहितो वातहरिणः, अश्वमृग इत्यन्ये, एणः स्वल्पमृगः, (Ibid. on Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa, II. 15, Ms. p. 179) and एणः स्वल्पमृगः सुनयनः । .....रोहितो धोटकरूपोऽश्वमृगः । तथा च 'रोहितोऽश्वमृग' इति कोष्ठाध्यक्षप्रचारटीका । (Ibid. II. 5. 10, *TSS* No. 43, p. 224.)

4. See M. Winternitz, "Zwei nue *Arthaśāstra* manuscripte" and IHQ. IV. 397: 'Mr. Anujan Achan of Santiniketan discovered two

The text edited is based on a single transcript in my possesion, copied by me from the paper transcript of Dr. Ganapati Sastri. The commentary is precise and clear; it discusses the correctness and propriety of terms according to Pāṇini's rules,[1] narrates stories to explain legendary allusions and criticises other commentators when it differs from them.[2] It may be noted here that some of the stories relating to the kings who are said to have lost their lives and kingdoms as a result of unrestrained passion are not traceable in the extent redactions of the Purāṇas and Itihāsas (*cf.* pp. 18-21). The commentary quotes from the *Mahābhārata*, *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana (p. 6), *Tantrākhyāyikā* (p. 16) and other ancient works and mentions *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, the work of Sāṅkhya[3] (p. 10).

Commentaries called *Jayamaṅgalā* are known for the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka, *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana, *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. The present commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Arthaśāstra* adds one more to the list. The identity of the name of the work would suggest identity of authorship. It may also be noted here that the invocatory stanzas of these commentaries resemble one another,

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manuscripts of the *Arthaśāstra* in his uncle's library in Cochin (Nos. 916 and 647) and sent them to Prof. Winternitz. Manuscript No. 916 contains a full commentary on the first two Adhikaraṇas and the first Adhyāya of the third Adhikaraṇa of the Kauṭalīya *Arthaśāstra*. The manuscript is written in Malayalam script and is incorrect and hardly legible. Neither the name of the commentary nor that of the commentator is to be found in the colophons; on the last page however, there are a few unconnected lines belonging to the commentary on the last portion of VII. 6 and the initial words of the *Nayacandrikā*.' This description tallies with the manuscript in my possession and also the paper transcript (R. 5208) in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

1. See for instance, दुर्गलाभोपायः । लम्भ इत्यपप्रयोगः, "उपसर्गात् खल्घञोः" इति नियमात् । (p. 7). It may be noted that all printed texts read here दुर्गलम्भोपायः ।

2. केचित् कृषिपाशुपाल्ये इति समस्य पठन्ति । तत्र च प्रयोजनम् इतरेतरापेक्षत्वम् । वणिज्यायाश्च पृथक्करणं निरपेक्षत्वाद् इत्याहुः । तदयुक्तम् । सर्वेषां परस्परार्थकरणस्य अप्रतिषिद्धत्वात् । (p. 13).

3. See also *JOR*. III. 107-11.

and all of them pay obeisance to the same Omniscient One denoted by the word *Sarvavid, Sakalavedin,* or *Lokottaravā(ve)din.*[1]

Kāmandaka in his *Nītisāra* (Ed. *TSS* 14) as stated in his introduction, summarises the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya; and in doing so, he leaves out Books II, III, IV and XV of the original. From this, it follows that the topics commented on in the first Adhikaraṇa of the *Jaya* on the *Arthaśāstra* are also found in the *Jaya* on *Kāmandaka,* consistent with the scope of its abridgement. On examination, it is seen that not only the topics, but words, ideas, explanations and illustrations are also identical in them. A few passages are shown below side by side for verification:

Jaya on the Arthaśāstra	*Jaya on Kāmandaka*
चतस्र इति— यथोपवर्णितपूर्वाचार्यमतसंभवेऽपि परस्परं विसदृशव्यापारत्वाद् विसदृशरूपत्वाद् विसदृशफलत्वात् चतस्र एव । (p. 9)	यथोपवर्णितपूर्वाचार्यमतसंभवेऽपि परस्परं विसदृशफलसिद्धयर्थं चतसृष्वेव लोको व्यवस्थितः । (p. 27)

1. पूर्वमतानि यथेदं संगृह्यैकं चकार कौटल्यः ।
टीकान्तराणि दृष्ट्वा सद्व्याख्यानं समुद्धृत्य ॥
क्रियते तथा मयापि त्यक्त्वा च ग्रन्थविस्तरं पूर्णां ।
बालहिता टीकेयं दुर्ज्ञेयं यद् विवित्य सर्वमिदम्? (प्रणम्य सर्वविदम्)॥
(p.1)

कामन्दकीये किल नीतिशास्त्रे प्रायेण नास्मिन् सुगमाः पदार्थाः ।
तस्माद् विधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां तत्पञ्जिकां सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ॥
(*Jaya* on *Kāmandakīya*)

बात्स्यायनीयं किल कामशास्त्रं प्रस्तावितं कैश्चिदिहान्ययैव ।
तस्माद् विधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां टीकामहं सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ॥
(*Jaya* on *Kāmaśāstra*)

प्रणिपत्य सकलवेदिनमतिदुस्तरभर्तृकाव्यसलिलनिधेः ।
जयमङ्गलेति नाम्ना नौकेव विरच्यते टीका ॥
(*Jāya* on *Bhaṭṭikāvya*)

अधिगततत्त्वालोकं लोकोत्तरवा(वे)दिनं प्रणम्य मुनिम् ।
क्रियते सप्ततिकायाष्टीका जयमङ्गला नाम ॥
(*Jaya* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā*)

तद् यथा— अतिदानेन धर्मोऽर्थं पीडयित्वा धर्मान्तरं कामञ्च पीडयति। तपश्च अत्यन्तं सेवितं कामं पीडयित्वा शरीरक्षयाद् धर्मार्थौ बाधते। अर्थोऽपि तादात्विकोऽस्ति य उपादीयमानः ऐलस्येव धर्मकामौ बाधित्वा अर्थमपि बाधते। कामोऽत्यासेव्यमानः शरीरक्षयादात्मानं पीडयति। (p. 23)

स्वाध्यायः। यस्मिन्नेव वेदे व्रतं चरति स एवाध्येय इति स्वग्रहणम्। .....एतद् वेदब्रह्मचारिण उपकुर्वाणस्य आ समावर्तनात्। आ मरणान्तात्तु नैष्ठिकस्य। अयं विशेषः— आचार्यकुले प्राणान्तिकी प्राणा एवान्तोऽवधिर्यस्या विद्यते सा। (p. 11)

शुश्रूषेत्यादि— शुश्रूषा श्रोतुमिच्छा। तस्यां श्रवणम् आसेवा। तस्मिन् सति श्रुतानाम् अर्थानाम् अवधारणं ग्रहणम्। ग्रहीतानां धारणम् अविस्मरणम्। धारितानां विविधसाध्यसाधनस्वरूपज्ञानादिभिर्विवेकज्ञानं विज्ञानम्। विज्ञातानामर्थप्राप्तस्य उपादानम् ऊहः। (p.15)

लाभे पालने चेति। लाभनिमित्तं पालननिमित्तं च। 'निमित्तात् कर्मयोगे' इति सप्तमी। लाभो नवो भूतपूर्वः पित्र्यश्चेति। पालनमपि स्वेभ्यः परेभ्यश्चेति द्विविधम्। .....

तद् यथा— अतिदानेन धर्मोऽर्थं हत्वा कामं धर्मान्तरं च हन्ति। तपश्च अत्यन्तसेवितं कामं हत्वा शरीरक्षयाद् धर्मार्थौ हन्ति। तथा अर्थस्तादात्विकोऽप्युपादीयमानः ऐलस्येव धर्मकामौ हत्वा अर्थमपि हन्ति। कामः पुनरत्यासेव्यमानः.....शरीरक्षयादात्मानमपि हन्ति। (p. 18)

स्वाध्यायः। यस्मिन् वेदे व्रतं चरति स एवाध्येय इति स्वग्रहणम्। .....एवं तावद् वेदब्रह्मचारिण उपकुर्वाणस्य आ समावर्तनात्। आ मरणान्तात्तु नैष्ठिकस्य। तस्य विशेषमाह— गुरौ आचार्यकुले प्राणान्तिकी स्थितिः अवस्थानम्। प्राणा एवान्तोऽवधिरस्या इति विग्रहः। (p. 33)

शुश्रूषेत्यादि— श्रवणार्हेषु श्रोतुमिच्छा शुश्रूषा। तस्यां सत्यां श्रवणम् आसेवा। श्रुतानामर्थानामवधारणं ग्रहणम्। धारणं ग्रहीतानाम् अविस्मरणम्। धारितेष्वर्थेषु विविधसाध्यसाधनस्वरूपविवेकज्ञानम् अर्थविज्ञानमिति धारणानन्तरं द्रष्टव्यम्। श्लोकानुरोधात् तत्र न पठितम्। ज्ञातेष्वर्थप्राप्तस्य उल्लिङ्गनम् ऊहः। (p. 53)

उपार्जने पालने च भूमेरिति मुख्यं प्रयोजनम्। 'निमित्तात् कर्मयोगे' इति सप्तमी। भूमिर्मनुष्यवती। तस्या आर्जनं त्रिविधम्—नवं भूतपूर्वं पित्र्यं च। रक्षणं द्विविधम्—स्वेभ्यः परेभ्यश्च।

ननु चोभयोरपि पक्षयोर्वर्धनस्य तीर्थप्रतिपादनस्य च असंग्रहात् कथं प्रतिपत्तिः? यथा वक्ष्यति—'रक्षितवर्धनी, वृद्धस्य तीर्थप्रतिपादनी च' इति । सत्यम् । किञ्च अस्यैव विशेषनिर्देशोऽयम् । रक्षितवर्धनमप्यार्जनमेव । तीर्थप्रतिपादनमपि गुणवति पुत्रादौ निक्षेपः, अश्वमेधादौ वा विनियोगः । तदपि रक्षणमेव । तस्मादुभयमपि पालनान्तर्भूतमेव द्रष्टव्यम् । (pp. 3-4)

ननु रक्षितवर्धनं वृद्धस्य च तीर्थप्रतिपादनमप्यस्ति । सत्यम् । अस्य द्वयस्यैव विशेषोऽयम् । यतो रक्षितविवर्धनमप्यार्जनमेव । तीर्थप्रतिपादनमपि गुणवति पुत्रे निक्षेपः, अश्वमेधादौ विनियोगो वा, तदुभयमपि सर्वथा रक्षणमेव । (p. 5)

A careful study of the two commentaries tends to show that the author of the *Jaya* on the *Arthaśāstra* also wrote a short commentary on the *Nitīsāra* of Kāmandaka to suit that metrical abridgement. The *Jaya* on Kāmandaka is edited with the help of six manuscripts, all obtained from the Kerala country, and it is ascribed there to one Śaṅkarārya in the colophons.

The *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana is written on the model of the *Arthaśāstra* in its external set-up and method of treatment. The *śāstra-prayojana* (utility of the science) enunciated in the introductory portion of the *Kāmaśāstra-Jaya* bears close similarity with the corresponding section of the *Arthaśāstra-Jaya*. Similar ideas, passages and illustrations also occur in the *Jaya* on the *Arthaśāstra* and in the *Jaya* on the *Kāmaśāstra*. A few parallels are given to illustrate the point:

Jaya on Arthaśastra	*Jaya on Kāmaśāstra* (Edn. Kashi Skt. Series, No. 29, 1929)
येषामपि शास्त्रविदां केषाञ्चिद् अपनयाद् अनर्थेन योगः स तेषामेवापराधो न शास्त्रस्य । नोलूकः पश्यतीत्यनेन नोदेतव्यम् । प्रतिपत्त्रपराधाच्च शास्त्रानर्थक्यं सर्वं(शास्त्रेषु? त्र) तुल्यं स्वर्गारोग्यापवर्गार्थेषु शास्त्रेषु ।	यदपि कामशास्त्रविदां केषाञ्चित् व्यवहाराकौशलं तत् तेषामेव दोषः, न शास्त्रस्य । .... प्रतिपत्तृदोषाच्च शास्त्रानर्थक्यं सर्वत्र तुल्यम् । न हि चिकित्सार्थेषु शास्त्रेषु सर्वे तद्विदः पथ्याहारादिकं सेवन्ते, तस्मात् तदर्थिनो ये

न सर्वे तद्विदः धर्माधर्मसेवापरिहारयोः पथ्यापथ्याहारसेवासेवयोः रागादिहानौ तत्त्वज्ञाने च अभिनिविशमाना दृश्यन्ते । ये तदर्थिनो भक्तिश्रद्धान्विताः, तेऽपि शास्त्राणां प्रयोजनहेतवः । (p. 6)

शास्त्रं चेदं स्वपरमण्डलभेदाद् द्विधावस्थितं, तन्त्रम् आवापश्चेति।.... तन्त्रावापाभ्याम् असिद्धेऽर्थे उपनिषत्प्रयोग इत्यन्ते वचनम् । तदुभयमपि तन्त्रावापान्तर्भूतमेव द्रष्टव्यम् । (p. 7)

प्रकरणाधिकरणसङ्ख्यानमन्यनिरपेक्षार्थम् । (p. 7)

'समासवाक्यं समुद्देशः', 'व्यासवाक्यं निर्देशः' इति । अस्य च प्रयोजनम् अध्येतृणां विदितशास्त्रार्थप्रकरणानुपूर्वीकाणाम् असंमोहेन अध्ययने प्रवृत्तिः । यथाभिलषितप्रकरणार्थप्रत्यवमर्शश्च प्रज्ञासमाना भविष्यति । एवं च कृत्वोक्तम् व्यासेन, 'इष्टं हि विदुषां लोके समासव्यासभाषणम्', इति । (p. 6)

भक्तिश्रद्धान्विताः, तेऽपि शास्त्रप्रयोजनहेतवः । (p. 2)

शास्त्रं चेदं तन्त्रम् आवापश्चेति द्विधा स्थितम् । ..... औपनिषदिकं तु तन्त्रावापाभ्याम् असिद्धे व्याप्रियत इत्यन्ते वक्ष्यति । तदुभयमपि तन्त्रावापान्तर्गतमेव तदङ्गत्वात् । (p. 9)

प्रकरणाधिकरणसङ्ख्यानमन्यनिरपेक्षार्थम् । (pp. 9-10)

'इष्टं हि विदुषां लोके समासव्यासभाषणम्' ।....सङ्क्षेपविस्तराभ्यां शास्त्रस्य मनसि धारणमिष्टम् । प्रज्ञातप्रकरणार्थक्रमत्वाद् असंमोहः यथाभिलषित-प्रकरणार्थ-प्रत्यवमर्शश्च स्यात् । (p. 10)

The legends of kings who had perished from excessive passion occur more or less in similar words in the *Jaya* on the *Arthaśāstra* and in the *Jaya* on the *Kāmandaka*. Those of Dāṇḍakya Bhoja and Aila Purūravas among them, are found in the *Jaya* on *Kāmaśāstra* also. Both the *Jaya* on *Arthaśāstra* and the *Jaya* on *Kāmaśāstra* quote in a similar context the stanzas, "ग्रहनयनवसुसमेतम्"[1] and 'अजीर्णे भुज्यते

1. *Artha-Jaya*, p. 39, and *Kāma-Jaya*, p. 35.

यच्च'[1]. The manuscripts of *Jaya* on *Kāmaśāstra* do not reveal the name or the author; Aufrecht however mentions in his *Catalogus*, p. 256 a commentary on the *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana by Śaṅkarācārya (cf. *Indian Literature* by Weber, note on p. 267).

The *Jaya* on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (hereafter referred to as *Bhaṭṭi*) is quoted as authority in the *Amaraṭīkāsarvasva*, *Durghaṭavṛtti* (1175 A.D.), the *Nānārthārṇava* of Keśavasvāmin (1200 A. D.) and in later works but none of them mentions the name of the author. The *Dhātuvṛtti* of Mādhavācārya (1380 A.D.) quotes a passage from a commentary on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* by one Śrīkarācārya in support of the view that the causal of the root *'grah'* (to take hold of) does not govern double accusative. *cf.*

"तथा श्रीकराचार्यस्याप्यनभिमतम् उपादानार्थस्य द्विकर्मकत्वम्। 'अजिग्रहत्तं जनक': (II. 42) इति भट्टिश्लोकं विवृण्वन् यदाह—तद् धनुः तं रामं जनकोऽजिग्रहद् बोधितवान्—अनेन धनुषा त्रिपुरं दग्धमिति। ग्रहेश्च बुद्ध्यर्थत्वाद् 'गतिबुद्धि' इत्यादिना रामस्य कर्मसंज्ञा, धनुषस्तु 'कर्तुरीप्सिततमम्' इति ग्रहिः द्विकर्मकः। उपादानार्थत्वे तु ग्रहिर्गत्यादिष्वेकोऽपि न भवतीति कथं तमिति"। (Mysore Edn., p. 96). The words ascribed to Śrīkarācārya in the above quotation agrees with the text of the *Jaya* on *Bhaṭṭi* in the relevant context:

"तद् धनुः तं रामं जनकः अजिग्रहद् बोधितवान्—अनेन धनुषा त्रिपुरं दग्धम् इति.....ग्रहेश्च बुद्ध्यर्थत्वाद् 'गतिबुद्धि' इत्यादिना रामस्य कर्मसंज्ञा"। (II. 42, N. S. Press edn., p. 38). From these two citations, it appears that the author of the *Jaya* on *Bhaṭṭi* is one Śrīkarācārya. But Aufrecht mentions a commentary on *Bhaṭṭi* by Śaṅkarācārya as quoted in the *Dhātuvṛtti* of Mādhava (C.C. I. 395), and it is certain therefore that there was a reference to a commentary by Śaṅkarācārya on *Bhaṭṭi* in the manuscript of *Dhātuvṛtti* consulted by Aufrecht. The latter reading is confirmed by a palmleaf manuscript of the *Bhaṭṭi-Jaya* in the Trivandrum Palace Library which begins with the stanzas:

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1. *Artha-Jaya*, p. 64, and *Kāma-Jaya*, p. 42.

स्वाख्यानाढ्यो विचित्राक्षरललितपदः संगृहीतार्थराशिः
शुद्धालंकारहारी सकलगुणनिधिर्निर्जिताशेषदोषः ।
विद्वत्प्रीतिप्रदेयो महितहरिभवः सर्वलक्ष्यानुगामी
शश्वल्लोकप्रसिद्धो नृपतिरिव महान् काव्यबन्धश्चकास्ति ॥
संपन्ना सकलेन लक्षणगुणेनोद्दीपितालंकृति-
र्युक्तार्थानुगतप्रसन्नमधुराभिप्रायसंवादिनी ।
श्रीमच्छंकरपूज्यपादयतिना टीका निबद्धा स्वयं
तस्यैषा जयमङ्गलेति गदिता कान्तेव भात्यद्भुता ॥
प्रणिपत्य सकलवेदिनमतिदुस्तरभर्तृकाव्यसलिलनिधेः ।
जयमङ्गलेति नाम्ना नौकेव विरच्यते टीका ॥

Its ending colophon runs thus: इति सत्कविचूडामणिगोविन्दस्वामिसूनु-हरिस्वामिविरचित-महाकाव्य-टीकायां भगवच्छंकरपरमहंसपरिव्राजकनिगदितायां जयमङ्गलायां तिङन्तकाण्डे लुङ्विलसितं नाम नवमः परिच्छेदः । काव्यस्य अयोध्याप्रत्यागमनं नाम द्वाविंशः सर्गः ॥

जटीश्वरो जयदेवो जयमङ्गल इत्यपि ।
यस्य ख्यातिस्त्रिधा लोके टीका तेन कृता त्वियम् ॥

The excerpts given above make it clear that the author of *Jaya* on *Bhaṭṭi* was one Śaṅkarapūjyapādayati, also called Śaṅkarācārya, and that he came to be called Jaṭiśvara, Jayadeva and Jayamaṅgala. But only the last name which is the name of his commentary has survived. The ending colophon occurring in the N. S. Press edition of the *Jaya* on *Bhaṭṭi* adds that the author wrote commentaries on many śāstras (*anekaśāstra-vyākhyānakṛt*).

The *Jaya* on the *Sāṅkhykārikā* is edited[1] from two manuscripts from Malabar and the closing colophon ascribes the work to Śaṅkarācārya who is described as '*paramahaṁsa parivrājaka*' and as a disciple of Govinda Bhagavatpāda[2].

1. *Calcutta Oriental Series* No. 19.

2. इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य-श्रीगोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्येण श्रीशङ्कर-भगवता कृता साङ्ख्यसप्ततिटीका समाप्ता ।

Prof. Hiriyanna[1] and S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri[2] consider this commentary to be older than the *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* of Vācaspati Miśra (840 A.D.).

All the five commentaries show erudition in grammar and contain several allusions of interest and value claiming high antiquity. The *Jaya* on *Bhaṭṭi* says that, of the three wives of Daśaratha, Kausalyā and Kaikeyī were of the Kṣatriya caste and Sumitrā was born of parents through intermarriage and was their *paricārikā*. They parted in her favour a portion each from their share of the oblation of rice that made them all conceive.[3] None of these *Jayamaṅgalās* have been critically edited and it cannot be said that the texts in them have come down to us without accretion or adulteration in the course of transmission through centuries. The *Jaya* on *Kāmandaka* mentions at one place Puṣkara as having defeated his brother Nala in gambling[4] and at another Jayasena (more properly Jayatsena) defeating his brother Nala.[5] *Kauṭalya* refers to Jayatsena as a winner in gambling and Nala as a loser and from this H. Jacobi argues[6] that the original name of Nala's brother was Jayatsena and that it was changed into Puṣkara in a later version of Nala story in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Jaya* on *Kāmandaka* strengthens the argument.

To sum up, there are parallels and agreements in the five commentaries and they are more striking in the *Arthaśāstra*

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1. *Cf. JOR* III. 107-112.

2. *Cf. Sāṅkhyakārikā of Iśvarakṛṣṇa,* University of Madras 1935, p. 97.

3. कौसल्या कैकेयी च क्षत्रिये, सुमित्रा तु वर्णसङ्करजा..... तत्र कौसल्या कैकेयी च एकैकं पिण्डं प्राशितवत्यौ, ताभ्यां च आवयोः परिचारिकेति पिण्डभागद्वयं दत्तम् सुमित्रा प्राशितवती । (I. 13).

4. नलो राजा सह भ्रात्रा पुष्करनाम्ना अक्षैर्दीव्यन् सर्वं राज्यमपहारितवान् । (I. 56).

5. नलश्च राजा द्यूतेन हृते राज्ये भ्रात्रा जय [से ? त्से]नेन धर्मदारान् दमयन्तीं वने त्यक्त्वा परकर्मकरोऽभवत् । (XV. 51).

6. *IA* LIII (1924) 144.

and the *Kāmandaka* commentaries. The other three are on different subjects, *viz.*, *Kāmaśāstra*, *Śāstra-kāvya* on Vyākaraṇa and *Sāṅkhya*, wherein we cannot expect very perceptible parallels. Even if this may not form conclusive evidence to the identity of authorship of all these commentaries, surely it points to such a conclusion.

In the edition of *Arthaśāstra Jaya* that follows, for facilitating reference to the Mysore (M), second edition, and Trivandrum (T) edition of the text, the page numbers of these two editions are given in brackets before the first word commented from the respective pages.

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MADRAS,
25-4-1958.

G. HARIHARA SASTRI

समानविद्येभ्य इति । यो यत्समानविद्यः स तं विशेषेण जानातीति । शिल्पं शास्त्रमेव चक्षुष्मत्तां प्रज्ञां च गुणद्वयं परीक्षेत आगमयेत् । कर्मारम्भेष्विति । कर्मणां दुर्गादीनाम् आरम्भेषु आरम्भविकल्पेषु । प्रज्ञां धारयिष्णुताम् इदं कर्तव्यमित्यनुस्मरणम् । दाक्ष्यं मनसः सत्त्वम् अश्रान्तत्वं परीक्षेत अनुमिनुयात् । T. 46. कथायोगेष्विति कथाप्रयोगेषु वाग्मित्वं प्रागल्भ्यम् । प्रतिभैव प्रतिभानं तद्वतो भावः प्रतिभानवत्त्वं प्रतिपत्तिमत्त्वमित्यर्थः । अनुभवादेव परीक्षेत न तर्कागमाभ्याम् । आपद्युत्साहप्रभावाविति । यो यस्यामापदि न विषीदति न मन्दप्रभावः क्लेशांश्च सहते सोऽन्यदापि कर्मण्य इति परीक्षेत अनुमिनुयात् । संव्यवहारादिति । लोकेन सह पोनःपुन्येन सम्यग् व्यवहृतिः तस्माच्छौचादीन् परीक्षेत । यथा नार्थशीलो न द्वेष्टि दृढस्नेहत्वादस्मान् कार्येष्वायस्य तथा अस्यैते गुणा नित्या इति तर्कयेदित्यर्थः । सहवासिभ्य इति । सह वासो येषां तेभ्य इति । शीलबलारोग्यसत्त्वयोगम् अस्तम्भम् अचापलं च परीक्षेतागमयेत् । प्रत्यक्षत इति स्वानुभावत एवेति । सम्प्रियत्वम् अवैरित्वं च परीक्षेत ॥

ननु जनपदशिल्पशीलादीन् आगमतः, प्रज्ञोत्साहशौचादीन् अनुमानेन च, वादित्वसंप्रियतादीन् प्रत्यक्षतः परीक्षेतेति कथं प्रमाणत्रयोपदेश इति चेत् । यस्मात् प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमेया राजवृत्तिरिति । सा राजवृत्तिः प्रत्यक्षानुमानादि नातिक्रामति । मन्त्रिपुरोहितसखः अमात्यान् शोधयेदित्यादि प्रत्यक्षा, तपस्विनां तु कार्याणि धर्मस्थीयैरिति परोक्षा, यश्चैषां यथोद्दिष्टमर्थं सविशेषं वा कुर्यात् सोऽन्यदापीत्यनुमेया । तत्रेति प्रत्यक्षादिषु । स्वयं दृष्टम् आत्मीयैरक्षैर्विषयीकृतं प्रत्यक्षम् । ननु च विषयाकारप्राधान्येन तद्वस्तु । सत्यम्, एवं विज्ञानपरिच्छेद्यत्वाद् वस्त्वपि प्रत्यक्षम् । सर्वत्र च वस्तुप्रधानो निर्देशः प्रत्यक्षाद्याभासनिरासार्थः । परोपदिष्टमिति परैरविसंवादकैरुपदिष्टं वचनेन संज्ञया वा । परोक्षं परप्रत्यक्षम् आप्तोपदेश इत्यर्थः । वक्ष्यति च—"त्रयाणामेकवाक्यत्वे सम्प्रत्ययः" (अधि. १. अध्या. १२.) इति । कर्मस्विति दुर्गादिकेषु कृतेषु कर्तव्येषु वा कृतेन उपलब्धेन अकृतस्यावेक्षणमालोचनमनुमेयं करिष्यत्ययमिदं कर्म शक्तिमत्त्वाद् यथेदं कृतवानिमि । यद्येवमकृतावेक्षणमनुमानं किमुच्यतेऽनुमेयमिति । नैष दोषः । वाक्यैकदेशव्याहारात् । अकृतावेक्षणं यत्र तदनुमेयमिति वस्तूपादाने प्रयोजनमव्यभिचारिणि नियमार्थम् । यौगपद्यात्तु कर्मणामिति । अनेकं कर्म, अनेकस्थमनेकदेशस्थं न स्वयं युगपदनुष्ठातुं शक्यते ।

यत्त्वेकदेशस्थम् ऊर्णावर्मकर्मेत्यादि तद्युगपच्छक्येत क्रमेण चानेकदेशस्थमपि यथा—पूर्वमर्धभागं हस्त्यादिषु विनीयेत पश्चिममितिहासश्रवण इति । तत्र युगपदनेकदेशस्थं च हेमन्ते स्वदेशे दुर्गकर्म परदेशे यात्रा स्वबलप्रायस्येति । इत्येवंविधस्य स्वयंकरणे देशकालात्ययो मा भूदिति परोक्षममात्यैरिति । प्रकरणान्मन्त्रिभिः कर्म कारयेत् । इत्यमात्यकर्मेति । एवंजातीयकममात्यकर्म, स्वयमनुष्ठानायोग्यत्वात् ॥

यथाऽमात्येभ्योऽधिका मन्त्रिणस्तथा मन्त्रिभ्यः पुरोहितोऽधिक इति गुणान्तराधिक्यं दर्शयन्नाह—पुरोहितमित्यादि । पुरो धीयते नियुज्यते दृष्टादृष्टेष्विति पुरोहितः । "दधातेर्हिः" (७-४-४२) । कीदृशं कुर्वीतेत्याह—उदितोदितकुलशीलमिति । चतुर्विधाः पुरुषाः, येषाम् आ चतुर्थाद् आ सप्तमाद्वा वृत्ताभिजनसम्पन्नाः पूर्वे नापरे ते उदितास्तमिताः । विपर्यये त्वस्तमितोदिताः । येषां न पूर्वे नापरे तेऽस्तमितास्तमिताः । येषां पूर्वे चापरे च वृत्ताभिजनसम्पन्नास्ते उदितोदितकुलशीला इति । तमेवंविधम् । साङ्गे प्रसङ्गे षडङ्गवेद इति प्रकरणादथर्वणे । दैवे निमित्ते दैवान्तरिक्षभौमशकुनादौ । दण्डनीत्याम् । T. 47. चाभिविनीतम् आभिमुख्येन शिक्षितम् । दैवीनाम् अग्न्युदकादीनाम् । मानुषीणां च दूष्यादिसंयुक्तानाम् (आपदाम्) यथाक्रमम् अथर्वभिरथर्ववित्तैः प्रयोगैः, उपायैश्च सामादिभिः । M. 16. प्रतिकर्तारं प्रतिविधातारं कुर्वीत । स चाननुवर्तितो नाकार्यकारीत्याह—शिष्य इव पूजया । पितरमिव स्निह्यन्तम् पुत्र इवानुकूल्येन । स्वामिनो योगक्षेमसाधनपरं भृत्य इवानुजीविवृत्तेन अनुवर्तेत । इवशब्दः षड्भिरेव संबन्धनीयः ॥

मन्त्रिपुरोहितयोरन्योन्यापेक्षितां दर्शयन्नाह—ब्राह्मणेनेति । ब्राह्मणेन पुरोहितेन । एधितं क्षत्रमिति जातिकर्मोपलक्षणम् । मन्त्रिण इति मन्त्रिणो यो(ग ?)मन्त्रः मन्त्राधिकारोत्पन्नः, तेन अभिमन्त्रितम् आभिमुख्येनोत्पादितनिश्चयम् । जयत्यजितमत्यन्तम् । ननु च लाभत्रैविध्ये नवस्य अजितत्वं न पित्र्यभूतपूर्वयोरिति तयोः परिपालनलक्षणो जयस्त्यक्तो भवति । नायं दोषः । नैत्रमुच्यते यदजितं तदेव जीयत इति । किन्तु जयत्यन्यदप्यजितमिति । अथवा (न) क्षत्रं तत्र कदाचिद्विपक्षेण जीयते जयति च, किं तर्ह्यजितमेवेति । यथाहुः—

विजयन्तेऽथ जीयन्ते प्रायेणेह जिगीषवः ।
कौरव्यस्तु जयत्येव कैश्चिदप्यपराजितः ॥

इति । शास्त्रमनुगच्छतीति **शास्त्रानुगम्** अथर्वदण्डनीत्यनुगामि । **अशस्त्रितम्** । शस्त्रं करोत्यभ्यस्यतीति शस्त्रितम् । अतथाभूतमशस्त्रितम् । अयुध्यमानमभिमन्त्रितयुद्धेन जयति । जयति निराबाधमित्यर्थः ॥

इति मन्त्रिपुरोहितोत्पत्तिः षष्ठं प्रकरणम्
नवमश्चाध्यायः ॥

अथ दशमोऽध्यायः

एवं मन्त्रिपुरोहितावुत्पाद्य तयोः सुखेन विशिष्टविनियोगार्थम् उपधाभिः शौचाशौच(ज्ञान)ममात्यानामुच्यते । भावपरीक्षार्थमुपधीयन्ते युज्यन्ते स्फटिकं रक्तद्रव्यरागोपधानैरिव आभिरित्युपधाः, धर्माद्यालम्बना उपजापक्रियाः । ताभिरमात्यानां शौचाशौच(ज्ञान)मिति । **मन्त्रिपुरोहितसख** इति । मन्त्रिपुरोहितयोः सखेति षष्ठीसमासेन अत्मनोऽपि तयोराधिक्यमाह । अन्यथा तौ सखायावस्येति मन्त्रिपुरोहितसखा इति स्यात् । "राजाहस्सखिभ्यष्टच्" (५-४-९१) इति तत्पुरुषसमासान्तस्य विहितत्वात् । अत एव तद्व्यतिरिक्तामात्यशुद्ध्यर्थमिदं प्रकरणम् ॥

तौ च पित्र्यौ भूतपूर्वौ वा नवावपि सहोत्थायिनावात्मवदेव ज्ञातशौचसामर्थ्यौ । तत्रैतत्स्याद् अन्येऽप्यस्य पित्र्यभूतपूर्वाः सहोत्थायिनो वा स्युः किं परीक्षयेति । न न सन्ति, न च सर्वे परीक्ष्या इति ब्रूमः । किन्तु सत्स्वपि पूर्वेषु ये नवाश्रिताः ये न विज्ञातशौचाः, ते विनियोगविशेषार्थं परीक्ष्यन्ते । अत्र च सहायातिशयख्यापनार्थं तयोरुपादानम् । अन्यथा मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतिसख इति वक्तव्यं स्यात्, सेनापतेरप्युपधाङ्गत्वात् । अत्र चोपधाङ्गत्वात् प्राङ् मन्त्रिणो निर्देश्याः, तेष्वसत्सु कैरुपदध्यादिति । नायं दोषः । न वचनक्रमापेक्षया अनुष्ठानप्रतिपत्तिः, किन्तु सामर्थ्यापेक्षयैव । न हि 'भुङ्क्ष्व पच्यताम्' इत्युक्ते पच्यतामित्यनुक्त्वा कथं भुङ्क्ष्वेत्युक्तमिति चोद्यं भवति । तथाऽप्ययमाचार्यः प्राधान्यादमात्योत्पत्तिं तत्सङ्गाच्च तत्परीक्षां प्रागाह । **सामान्येष्वधिकरणेषु** धर्मार्थव्यवहारस्थानेषु प्राक्शौचाशौचज्ञानादविभक्तयथार्हकर्तृषु । अथवा सामान्येषु लघुषु कुप्याद्यक्षादिषु कर्मसु यत्र स्तोकमति-

पत्यते । **अमात्यान् स्थापयित्वा** विनियोज्य । **उपधाभिः शोधयेत्** परीक्षेत, पुरोहितेन सेनापतिना स्वयं च महिषीव्यपदेशेन ॥

तत्र **पुरोहितमिति** । अयाज्यस्य अयजनर्हस्य, **याजनेऽध्यापने** च । अमुं शूद्रापुत्रं याजय अध्यापयेति **नियुक्तम्** । तेन सह कृतसंवित्कत्वाद् **अमृष्यमाणम्** अक्षममाणं कथमयमेवं करोतीति । **रजावक्षिपेत्** प्रत्ययार्थमवरोपितार्थमानं निर्भर्त्सयेत् । **स सत्रिभिरिति** । सोऽवक्षिप्तः सत्रिभिर्वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणैः प्रयोज्यैः । **शपथपूर्वं** स्वयं शपथं कृत्वा विश्वासार्थतां च कारयित्वा । राज्ञो भिन्नोऽयमिति ख्यापनार्थम् । **एकैकं** स्वाशयाविष्करणार्थम् **उपजापयेत्** भेदयेत् । किमित्याह—**अधार्मिकोऽयमिति** । धर्मेण चरति यः स तद्विपरीतः, येन मामप्ययाज्ययाजनादौ नियुङ्क्ते । तस्मात् **साधुधार्मिकं** साधुं धार्मिकं चेति । क्रियाविशेषणं वा साधु शोभनं **प्रतिपादयाम** इति । **अन्यमस्य** भ्रातरं पुत्रं वा । बन्धुविनाशानुशयात् ततो भवेत् प्रेक्षा चेत् **तत्कुलीनं** तत्कुलापत्यम् । तस्मादपि चेदाशङ्का ततोऽवरुद्धं निर्धारितम् । स ह्यासन्नत्वात् स्निग्धतरो भवति । सोऽपि कृतार्थः पित्र्यापकारं स्मरिष्यतीति कुप्येत्, **कञ्चित् कुलीनं** तं **चैकप्रग्रहम्** । राज्ञा सहैकपूजमित्यर्थः । स हि प्रजानुमतो भवति । निराश्रयोऽसाविति चेत् **सामन्तम्** । प्रति वैतस्माच्चेत् पूर्ववासनया स्वप्रवृत्त्यवग्रहाशङ्का **आटविकं** राजसधर्माणम् । तस्माच्चेदनार्यपरिवाराशङ्का **उपपादकम्** । अकस्मादुत्पत्तिशीलम् अराजबीजिनमित्यर्थः । चन्द्रगुप्तप्रकारसाधुधार्मिकमिति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । **प्रतिपादयामः** किमित्यर्थाद् राज्यमिति गम्यते । तत्राप्रतिपत्तिमनर्थभयापेक्षां निरसितुमाह—**सर्वेषामेतद्रोचते कथं वा (भव ? तवे)त्यभिप्रायप्रश्नः** । **प्रत्याख्याने** तु **शुचिरिति** । स चेद्विमृश्यकारी यद्यपि पुरोहितस्येदं मतं तथापि विचार्यम् । अवक्षिप्तत्वाद्वर्षेणायं वदति स्वधर्मं तावदपेक्षे अधार्मिकोऽस्तु मा वा राजा किं ममात्र । स्वाम्यनभिद्रोहो मे धर्मः । तथा चाहुः—

ब्रह्मद्रुहां च ये लोका गुरुपुत्रद्रुहाश्च ये ।
पतिद्रुहां च ये स्त्रीणां ते समस्ता नृपद्रुहाम् ॥

इति । मैवमिति प्रत्याख्याने याथातथ्यपरिज्ञानाच्छुचिरितीयं परीक्षा धर्मोपधा ॥

सेनापतिरित्यादि । अमुं दासीपुत्रं सत्कारेण पूजयेति राज्ञा उक्तः, स तेनासत्प्रग्रहेण असतः पूजया अमृष्यमा(णो ? णेन) रां(जा ? ज्ञा) कृतसंवित्केन अवक्षिप्तः अवरोपिततदर्थमानः **सत्रिभिरेकैकमुपजपेत्** ।

सेनापत्यायत्तत्वादर्थस्येति। भूमिकोशहस्त्यादिना **अर्थेन राजविनाशाय** राजविनाशार्थमुपजपेत्। **सर्वेषामेतद्रोचते कथं वा तवेति**। तत्रेदृशोऽर्थः धर्मादिविरोधी न न्याय्य इति **प्रत्याख्याने शुचिरितीयं** परीक्षा **अर्थोपधा** ॥

परिव्राजिकेति। वक्ष्यमाणगुणा परिव्राजिका **लब्धविश्वासा** श्रद्धेया। **अन्तःपुरे** कृतसत्कारत्वादनिवार्यप्रवेशा। **महामात्रं** महती मात्रा यस्येति तम्। **एकैकमुपजपेत्**। राजमहिषी नान्या काचित् **त्वां कामयते**। कश्चिदशक्यत्वात् प्रत्याचक्षीतित्याह—**कृतसमागमोपाया** वर्षवराद्यरूपग्रहणात्। **महानर्थश्च ते भविष्यतीति**। नन्वर्थोपधापीयं कुतो निर्णयः। एवं तर्हि महान् कामप्राप्त्यैव पुरुषार्थस्ते भविता। यथाहुः—

धर्मार्थयोः फलं कामः कामः स्त्रीभोगमुख्यकः।
स्त्रीषु रूपवती श्रेष्ठा सुरूपासु सयौवना ॥

इति। अथवा महाननर्थो महानर्थः अनङ्गीकरणे तत्क्रोधाद्भवितेति। अगम्या हि राजदारा इति काम्याकाम्यपरिज्ञानात् **प्रत्याख्याने शुचिरितीयं** परीक्षा **कामोपधा** ॥

M. 17. **प्रहवणनिमित्तमिति**। प्रहूयन्ते हूयन्तेऽस्मिन् स्वजनमित्राणीति प्रहवणम् उद्वाहादिरुत्सवः, तन्निमित्तम्। **एकोऽमात्यः** प्रधानमन्त्रीत्यर्थः। स राज्ञा कृतसंवित्कः **सर्वानमात्यान्** स्वगृहेऽन्यगृहे वा **आवाहयेत्** मेलयेत्। **तेनोद्वेगेनेति** तेषामेकत्र मेलनात् तेन भयेन। **राजा** मदपचिकीर्षया हि यूयं संहताः तिष्ठत तावद् विचारयामीति **तानवरुन्ध्यात्** पृथक् सह वा। **कापटिकश्च** वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणस्तत्रास्मिन्नवरोधस्थाने दूतादिव्यपदेशेन **पूर्वावरुद्धः**। **तेषां** मध्येऽर्थमानावक्षिप्तम् अर्थमानाभ्यां च्यावितम् T. 50. **एकैकमुपजपेत्**। **असत्प्रवृत्तोऽयम्**। असदशोभनं प्रवृत्तमस्येति येनादुष्टमानसमप्येवं कृतवान्। **अत एनं हत्वाऽन्यं प्रतिपादयामः सर्वेषामेतद् रोचते कथं वा तवेति**। यद्येवं स्यात् किं न्विदमेवमेव, अथवा अयमपरागाद् ब्रवीतीति, अथवा अलं चिन्तया सर्वथा निर्दोषोऽस्मि सर्वथा निष्प्रतिकारमस्मद्भयमिति **प्रत्याख्याने शुचिरितीयं** परीक्षा **भयोपधा** ॥

परिशुद्धानां नियोगमाह—**तत्रेति**। धर्मादिशुद्धेषु (ये) **धर्मोपधाशुद्धास्तान् धर्मस्थीयकण्टकशोधनेषु** धर्मप्रधानेषु **स्थापयेत्**। **अर्थोपधाशुद्धान्** समाहर्त्रादिकर्मस्वर्थप्रधानेषु। **कामोपधाशुद्धान् बाह्याभ्यन्तरविहाररक्षासु**।

विहरन्त्यस्मिन्निति विहारः । तत्र बाह्यो विहार उपवनं बाह्यस्त्रीणां राजोपभोग्यानां वारविलासिनीनाम् । आभ्यन्तरो विहारो राज्ञीनाम् । तद्रक्षासु स्थापयेत् । भयोपधाशुद्धानात्मासन्नकार्येषु । सर्वोपधाशुद्धान् मन्त्रिणः कुर्यात् । सर्वकर्मणां तदायत्तत्वात् । मन्त्रिपरिषदन्त्रैवान्तर्भूता । सर्वत्राशुचीन् धर्मादिष्वशुद्धान् खनिद्रव्यहस्तिवनकर्मान्तेषु उपयोजयेत् । (नाविकान्?) किन्तूपयोजयेदन्यैरधिकृतैः सह कारयेत् ॥

अत्र सम्यङ्मतपरिग्रहार्थमाह—त्रिवर्गभयसंशुद्धाविति । त्रिवर्गे भये च सम्यक् शुद्धान् स्वेषु कर्मस्वधिकुर्यात् । यथाशौचमिति । यस्य यत्र शौचं तं तत्राधिकुर्यात् । इत्याचार्या व्यवस्थिताः विशेषेण स्थिताः । नास्माभिस्ततोऽपनीयन्ते ॥

T. 51. किन्तु न त्वेव कुर्यात् न कथञ्चित् कुर्यात् । आत्मानं देवीं हत्वाऽन्यं प्रतिपादयामः, त्वां कामयत इति । लक्ष्यमधिष्ठानम् । ईश्वरोलब्धैश्वर्यो राजा । शौचहेतोरमात्यानाम् । प्रधानदोषापाये(न?) इतरगुणानामुपायत्वं न युक्तमिति ॥

को दोष इति चेदाह—(न)दूषणमिति । परीक्षणात् प्रागदुष्टस्य अज्ञातदोषस्य अनेनासता अधर्मेण अम्भस इवादुष्टस्य विषेण दूषणं न युक्तमित्यर्थः । तद्दूषणमधिष्ठाने चेरद् व्याप्नुयादित्यर्थः । पुरोहितादिभिर्दूषयित्वान्यैः नैवं युक्तमिति शोधयेदिति चेदाह—कदाचिद्धि प्रदुष्टस्य नाधिगम्येत भेषजम् । अनैकान्तिकत्वात् प्रतीकारस्य । अथवा न कदाचिदप्यधिगम्येत भेषजम् ।

यथाहुः—

पायसेन सकृद्दग्धो बालो दध्यपि शङ्कते ।
भायिताश्वासिता वाऽपि न विश्वसिति कर्हिचित् ॥

इति ॥

अयं चापरो दोष इत्याह—कृता चेति । कलुषीकृता बुद्धिरुपधाचातुर्विध्याच्चतुर्विधा । तेन वान्येन वोपायेन अगत्वान्तं राजानमविनाश्य देवीं वा नाधिगम्य न निवर्तेत । सत्त्ववतामारब्धकार्यावसायिनाम् । धृतौ अपि च शक्ता स्थिता सती ॥

M. 18. तस्मादेतदोषपरिहारार्थमाहाभिप्रायसिद्धये च—तस्मादिति । बाह्यं लक्ष्यं कृत्वा देवस्थानादिसंस्कारे तद्द्रव्ये वा तद्द्रव्ययोगे वेश्यायोजने

तुच्छतरापकारभायने च कार्ये चतुर्विधेऽपि । शौचाशौचं मार्गेत अन्वेषयेत् । न ह्येकत्र शुद्धोऽन्यत्राशुचिः स्वामिनो भीरवश्चेति । राजा मन्त्रिपुरोहितसखः एको वा यथायोगं मार्गेत । सत्रिभिरिति गूढपुरुषोपलक्षणं कापटिक-परिव्राजकयोरपि ग्रहणम् ॥

इति शौचाशौचममात्यानां सप्तमं प्रकरणम् ।

दशमश्चाध्यायः ॥

अथैकादशोऽध्यायः

T. 52. अमात्यवर्गान्तर्भूतत्वात् गूढानामेव पुरुषाणाम् आमात्यशौचाशौचानन्तरं तद्विशेषगूढपुरुषोत्पत्तिरध्यायद्वयेनोच्यते । उपाधिभिरित्यादि । शुद्धोऽमात्यवर्गो यस्य स राजा गूढपुरुषान् गूढप्रयोगान् पुरुषान् उत्पादयेत् रचयेत् । जातिशब्दत्वात् भिक्षुकान्तर्भावः । तत्र कापटिकादयः पञ्च संस्थासंज्ञाः, सत्र्यादयश्चत्वारः सञ्चारसंज्ञाः, द्वैराश्येन स्थिताः । तत्र पूर्वेषां लक्षणानि कर्माणि चास्मिन्नध्याये दर्शयन्नाह—परमर्मज्ञ इति । परेषां मर्माणि स्थानानि यानि तानि जानातीति तथा । तैर्हि परानुपतापयति । प्रगल्भो (दृ? धृ)ष्टः प्रत्यादेशसमर्थः । छात्रः निस्सङ्गत्वादुपतापनभयनिरपेक्षः, स सर्वत्र मित्रायमाणः कपटेन चरतीति कापटिकः । तमर्थमानाभ्यामुत्साह्येति । अर्थप्रदानेन पूजया च जनितोत्साहं मन्त्री ब्रूयात्—राजानं मां च प्रमाणीकृत्य अवधिं कृत्वा यस्य यदकुशलं कि(ञ्चिद्वि? ल्बि)षं पश्यसि तत्तदानीमेव कालमहापयन् प्रत्यादिश अस्मासु प्रकाशयेति । स तथा कुर्यादित्यर्थोक्तमेतत्कर्म ॥

प्रव्रज्याया इति । परिव्राजकभावाच्छ्रमणभावाद्वा प्रत्यवसितः श्रान्तः । प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तत्वात् कर्मण्यः । स उदास्थित इत्येवंसंज्ञः । अपवर्गार्थमुद्यम्य निवृत्तत्वात् सर्वाश्रमत्यागादुत्कर्षाशयः । *..... दासस्तु कर्तव्या लोकद्वयबहिष्कृता । T. 54. M. 19. आशास्तय आशंसनानि ताभिर्हेतुभिः, आगतानामङ्गविद्यया ज्यौतिषनिमित्तज्ञानादिकया । तैश्च संसृष्टवतां शिष्याणां स्वाङ्गस्पर्शादिसंज्ञाभिः । कर्माण्यभिजनेऽवसितानीति इदं ते कर्म वीणावादकत्वं वैश्यश्वासि सेवान्वेच्छसीति(?)प्रत्ययात् प्राग् आदिशेत् । अथवा कर्माण्येव यान्यभिजनापेक्षयाभीप्सितानि तानि वैद्यत्वेन जीवनमश्वदमकत्वेन वेति । किञ्चाल्पलाभं श्वस्ते वस्त्रलाभो भविता । यथा चेयं बलाद् (?)

* इतः परं पत्रार्धपरिमिता ग्रन्थपङ्क्तयो मातृकायां लुप्ताः ।

दक्षिणपूर्वस्यामग्निरुत्थाता । **चारेभ्यो भयं** चाराणां वा पञ्चरात्राद् भविता । **दूष्यवधम्** । प्रष्टुमभिप्रेतं बुद्ध्वा कामस्ते सम्पन्नः येनासौ स्वामी सन्तुष्टः न सम्पन्नस्ते येनासावसन्तुष्टः । तत्कुलोपाशंसुप्रभृतीनामादाय नियमनं भविता । विदेशप्रतिज्ञानं कलिङ्गेषु राजा मृत इति आ पञ्चरात्राद्धि स्फुटमेतद् भविष्यतीति । इदमद्यैव राज्ञा दौर्मनस्यं सौमनस्यं श्वः पुनरिदं भविता इदं वा राजा शोभनमशोभनं वा करिष्यतीत्यादिशेत् ॥

T. 55. तदेतदल्पलाभादिकं गूढा अज्ञातप्रयोगाः सत्रिणः प्रच्छन्नचाराः संपादयेयुः लोकसंप्रत्ययार्थम् । सत्त्वेति । सत्त्वेन प्रज्ञया वाक्येन वाग्मितया शक्त्या सामर्थ्येन संपन्नानां सपरिग्रहयोग्यानाम् । राजभाग्यमिति राजसंबन्धिवाक्यं पट्टसंबन्धादि दिव्येन चक्षुषा पश्यन्निव अनुव्याहरेत् । मन्त्री सन्मन्त्रित्वादाहूयाभिप्रायं पूरयिष्यतीति । मन्त्री चैषां सत्त्वादियुक्तानां सत्त्वाद्यनुरूपया वृत्त्यानुकर्मणा च विशेषेण यतेत । ये च राज्ञा सम्बन्धिनः कारणादभिक्रुद्धाः राजदोषेणेत्यर्थः । क्रुद्धग्रहणमुपलक्षणार्थं लुब्धभीतमानिनां च । तानमात्यान् अर्थमानाभ्यां शमयेत् । अकारणक्रुद्धान् स्वदौश्शील्यात् क्रुद्धान् । तूष्णींदण्डेन प्रच्छन्नदण्डेन । राजद्विष्टकारिणश्चेति राजद्विष्टं महान्तमनर्थं कर्तुकामान् तूष्णींदण्डेन शमयेत् ॥

पूजिताश्चेति । एते एवंधर्माणः न केवलं मन्त्रिणा राज्ञा च अर्थमानाभ्यां पूजिताः कर्मण्या भवन्ति । किञ्चिदपदिश्य राजोपजीविनां शौचं जानीयुः । एताः पञ्चाप्येकया संज्ञया संस्था इति प्रकीर्तिताः । तथा चाहुः—

चारोऽन्तेवासिना तेन भक्ताच्छादगृहाणि च ।
सन्तिष्ठते यतस्तेन संस्थास्ताः परिकीर्तिताः ॥

इति गूढपुरुषोत्पत्तौ संस्थोत्पत्तिरेकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ द्वादशोऽध्यायः

इदानीं सञ्चाराणां लक्षणानि योजनादीनाहुः । ये चास्येति । ये चास्य राज्ञः सम्बन्धिनोऽपि सन्तोऽवश्यभर्तव्याः बालवृद्धव्यसन्यनाथास्ते ह्युपगृहीताः कर्मण्याः, ये चाऽप्यसम्बन्धिन इति । तत्राऽप्यस्य स्वजनाः सम्बन्धिनश्च यथाकथञ्चित् सम्बन्धा इति । अथवाप्यानां सम्बन्धिनस्तत्प्रतिबद्धाः

पूर्ववच्चावश्यभर्तव्या इति । तेषां **लक्षणं** पुरुषहस्त्यादीनाम् । **अङ्गविद्यां** शिक्षादिकां वशीकरणाद्यर्थां भगिनीं तत्र प्रकारं(?)**मायायोगमिन्द्रजालम्** । आश्रमधर्मं गृहस्थादिधर्मम् । **निमित्तं** दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमम् । **अन्तरचक्रं** शिवावायसादिरुदितम् । इतिशब्दादेवंप्रकारं धातुवादादिकम् । **अधीयानाः** पठन्तः । **सत्रिणः** सत्रं छद्म विद्यते येषामिति । **संस(गर्द्धे ? र्गविद्या वे)ति** । संसृजनं संसर्गः, तद्धेतुकां नृत्तगीतवादित्रादिकां वा विद्यामधीयानाः पृथङ्निर्देशः सर्वजनसम्पर्कहेतुत्वादियमेव सर्वैर्विकल्प्यत इति ॥

ये जनपद इति । **शूरा** विक्रान्ताः । **त्यक्तात्मानः** शौर्यान्नात्मरक्षणपराः । **द्रव्यहेतोः** द्रव्यतृष्णया । ऐकात्मिकं प्राणनाशमावहन्तो **हस्तिनं व्यालं** व्याघ्रादिकं **योधयेयुः** न च्छद्मना हन्युः । **ते तीक्ष्णा** इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञाः ॥

T: 57. **परिव्राजिकेति** । परिव्राजकधर्मे स्थिता, अनेकत्र वासाद् गमनागमेष्वशङ्क्या पूज्या च । **वृत्तिकामा** राजार्थकारिणी । **दरिद्रा** अनन्यगतिः, अत एव वृत्तिकामा । **विधवा** न जीवद्भर्तृका स्वतन्त्रा । अन्ये पुनरविधवा इत्याहुः, अविधवा पुंस्कामेत्यर्थः । **प्रगल्भा** प्रतारणकुशला । **ब्राह्मणी** न क्षत्रिया, सा हि पूज्या भवति । **अन्तःपुरे कृतसत्कारा** पूजितपूजकत्वाल्लोकस्य । **महामात्रकुलान्युपेयानि** वा **अभ्युपगच्छेत्** । **एतया** परिव्राजिकया । **मुण्डाप्रव्राजिकावृषल्यः** (परित्यः ?) परित्यक्तचारित्रधर्मा **व्याख्याताः** । वृत्तिकामा इत्यादि । एते चतुर्विधाः सत्र्यादयश्चतुर्विधाः **सञ्चाराः** सञ्चारयन्ति वार्तामिति कृत्वा ॥

गूढपुरुषत्वेऽप्येषां विनियोगभेदात् पृथक्त्वम् । तदाह—**तानित्यादि** । **राजा** प्राक् **स्वविषये** मण्डले मन्त्र्यादिष्वपसर्पयेत् । अशुद्धस्वमण्डलस्य परमण्डलेऽपसर्पणासंभवात् । तत्र मन्त्रिणि पुरोहिते च तुष्टातुष्ट(त्व)मात्रज्ञानार्थम् । ततोऽन्येष्वेकाकी तत्सहायो वा अपसर्पयेत् । सेनायाश्चतुरङ्गायाः पतिः **सेनापतिः** । **युवराजः** कुमारः । विनीतत्वाद्यौवराज्येऽभिषिक्तः । **दौवारिको** द्वारे नियुक्तः प्रतीहारः । वंशः कुलमिति पर्यायत्वाद् राजकुलस्यान्तर्नियुक्ता अन्तर्वंशिकाः । स्त्र्यध्यक्षा अन्तःपुरिकाः । **प्रशास्ता** बलाधिकृतः । आयसमाहरणे नियुक्तः **समाहर्ता** देशव्यवहारी । **सन्निधाता** सम्यङ्निधाता स्थापयिता भाण्डागारिकः । **प्रदेष्टा** प्रकर्षेण देष्टा निबद्धव्यवस्थापयिता कण्टकशोधनाधिकृतः । **नायकः सहस्राध्यक्षः** । वक्ष्यति—"तदशकस्यैको नायकः" (अधि. ११. अध्या. ६.) इति । **पौरव्यावहारिकः** पौराणां ये व्यवहारास्तत्र नियुक्तः । धर्मस्थ इत्यर्थः । **कर्मा-**

न्तिकाः सर्वकर्मान्तस्थानाधिकृताः । **मन्त्रिपरिषत्** मन्त्रिसमूहः । 'मन्त्रिपरिषदं कुर्वीत' इति वचनात् । तदध्यक्षो **मन्त्रिपरिषदध्यक्षः** (सान्ध्यविग्रहः ? सान्धिविग्रहिकः) । यस्य लक्षणममात्यसम्पदुपेतः सर्वसमयविदिति । **दण्डपाला हस्त्यश्वरथपदात्यध्यक्षाः** । **दुर्गपाला** नागरिकाः । (तो ? को)ट्टपालका इत्यर्थः । **अन्तपालो** जनपदान्तरक्षानियुक्तः । **आटविकाः** शबरादिनायकाः । एते(ष्व)-ष्टादशसु श्लिष्टत्वाच्छ्लेयदेशादीनपदिशन्ति । तत्र **देशान्** द्रमिडोऽस्मि कालिङ्गोऽस्मीति । **वेषं** लिङ्गं परिव्राजकोऽस्मीति पाशुपतोऽस्मीति । **भाषां** देशालापम् एषास्मदेशभाषेति । **शिल्पं** चित्रं लिखितुं वीणां वादयितुं जानामीति । **अभिजनं** जातिं वैश्योऽस्मीति । अन्वयं वा सूपकारपुत्रोऽस्मीति वैद्यपुत्रोऽस्मीति । **एवंव्यपदेशांस्तान्** । **भक्तित** इति । यस्य यत्र भक्तिः स्नेहोऽस्ति द्रमिडे पाशुपते वा । **सामर्थ्ययोगाच्चेति** । यो यत्र समर्थः कार्यं साधयितुं तत्र । **अपसर्पयेत्** चारयेत् ॥

T. 58. नियुक्तानां व्यापारमाह— **तेषामिति** । मन्त्र्यादीनाम् । **बाह्यं चारं चरितम्** । **छत्राद्युपग्राहिणः** छत्राद्युपग्रहणशीलाः अन्तःप्रवेशनार्हाः प्रत्यासन्न-वर्तिनो मर्मज्ञास्तीक्ष्णाः स्वाम्यादेशे यथेष्टव्यापारसमर्था **विद्युः** । **तत्रासनं** पीठिकादि । (**वाहनं**? यानं) युग्यादि । वाहनं हस्त्यश्वादि । **तम्** चारं बाह्यमुपलभ्य । **सत्रिणः संस्थास्विति** कापटिकादिषु यथायोगम् (**स्थाप**? **अर्प**) **येयुः** आचक्षीरन् ॥

M.21. आभ्यन्तरं के विद्युरित्याह— **सूदेत्यादि** । **सूदः** सूपकारः । **आरालिकः** कण्टकः । **स्नापकः** स्नापयिता । **संवाहकोऽङ्गमर्दकः** । **आस्तरकः** शय्याप्रसाधयिता । **उदकपरिचारकः** पानीयकर्मान्तिकः । एते **रसदाः** रसावचारणस्थाननियोगत्वात् । किमेत एवाभ्यन्तरं विद्युरित्याह— **कुब्जादयश्च कुब्जवामनौ** । **किरातो** म्लेच्छविशेषः । एते विदूषकादिच्छद्मानश्चान्तः पुरचारिणो विश्वास्याश्च । तत्र **मूको** यो न वक्ति । **जडो** यो न वक्ति शृणोति च । **गायना** वीणावादकाः । **वाग्जीवनाः** कथकादयः । **कुशीलवा** रङ्गोपजीविनः । **स्त्रियश्च** वृषल्यो निषिद्धोचितप्रवेशित्वाद् आभ्यन्तरं चारं विद्युः । **तमि-त्यान्तरं** चारम् । **भिक्षुक्यः** परिव्राजिकाः उचितनिष्कासप्रवेशाः (**सर्पेयुः** ? संस्थास्वर्पयेयुः) ॥

T. 59. **संस्थानां** येऽन्तेवासिनः शिष्याः ते राजसम्भाषणस्य लक्षितत्वाद् गात्रस्पर्शादि**संज्ञाभिः** सङ्केतिताभिः । **चारसञ्चारमिति** बाह्याभ्यन्तरयो-श्चारयोः सञ्चारं **कुर्युः** । **न चान्योन्यमिति** । न च संस्थाः संस्थान्तरम् । **ते च**

सञ्चारा न सञ्चारान्तरं विद्युः सङ्गायनपरिहारार्थम् । एकस्मिन् वा(ञ्छा? ङ्का) ते मा भूत् सर्वग्रहणमिति । केवलन्तु सत्रिणो भिक्षुक्यश्च चारार्पणार्थं संस्थाभिः संसृज्यन्ते ॥

भिक्षुकीप्रतिषेध इति । तीर्थं चेत् स्वशङ्कया भिक्षुकीं निषेधयति तदा । **द्वाःस्थपरम्परा** इति । दौवारिकव्यञ्जनाः सत्रिणः प्रतिकक्ष्यपरम्परया भिक्षुकीष्वर्पयेयुरित्यर्थः । **मातृपितृव्यञ्जना** इति मातृपितृच्छद्मानः । **शिल्पकारिकाः** पत्रच्छेदादिकारिकाः । **कुशीलवदास्यो** रङ्गोपजीविदास्यः । **गीतेन** तद्वस्तुप्रतिबद्धेन सङ्केतितवेणुवीणावाद्येन । **पाठ्येन** व्यर्थनिबन्धनेन श्लोकपाठ्येन । **भाण्डेनान्तर्लिखितेन** । **गूढलेख्येन** पूर्वाचार्यकल्पितेन । तथा चोक्तम्—

ग्रहनयनवसुसमेतः षडाननोऽक्षाणि सागरा मुनयः ।
ज्वलनागण्डकशृङ्गद्वयलिखितं गूढलेख्यमिदम् ॥

इति । T. 60. अङ्गस्पर्शादिसंज्ञया वा यथायोगं **चारं निर्हरेयुः** निष्कासयेयुः । तदसम्भवे विधानान्तरमाह—**दीर्घरोगेति** । औपनिषदिकप्रयोगैरुत्पादितेन दीर्घरोगेण कुष्ठादिना, तद्दर्शनस्याप्रशस्तत्वात् । **उन्मादेन** असम्बन्धप्रलापहेतुना । तथा **अग्निरसयोः** प्रणिधानान्निसर्गेण व्यामोहितारक्षत्वाद् **गूढनिर्गमनं** प्रच्छन्नार्थनिष्कासनम् ॥

तत्रापि **त्रयाणामेकवाक्यत्वे सम्प्रत्ययः** । सम्यगैकान्तिकी प्रतीतिरित्यर्थः । कदाचिदेकस्य द्वयोर्वा परोपग्रहोऽसम्यगुपलब्धिर्वा स्यात् । **तेषामिति** चाराणाम् । **अभीक्ष्णविनिपाते** पुनः पुनर्विसंवादने । **तूष्णीं दण्डः** प्रच्छन्नवधः । **प्रतिषेधो** निवारणम् । मा भूत् प्रकाशवधे अन्यसञ्चाराणामुत्त्रास इति सकृद् द्विर्वा प्रमादाज्ञानादिभिः विसंवादयतस्तूपेक्षेत न पुनरेवं कार्यमिति ॥

इतरमण्डले गूढपुरुषप्रणिधानमाह—**कण्टकशोधनोक्ता** इति । समाहर्त्रा कण्टकशोधने वक्ष्यमाणे ग्राम्याणामध्यक्षाणां शौचाशौचज्ञानार्थं प्रणिहितास्तापसप्रव्रजितादयः । **अपसर्पाः** अपसर्प्यन्त इति कृत्वा ते । कापटिकादयश्च चशब्दात् । **परेषु** शत्रुषु । **कृतवेतनाः** कृतभृतयो **वसेयुः** । **सम्पातनिश्चारार्थमिति** । सम्पतन्त्येभिरिति सम्पाताः सञ्चाराः । तेषां गूढस्थान-

प्रवेशनिष्कासाः । तत्र निश्चरति इति निश्चारः । तदर्थके सम्यक्षिण्याचारिण (?) इति निरूपणार्थं तत्साक्षिणो **वसेयुः** । **त उभयवेतना** इति । ते चोभयवेतनाः स्युः स्वयमभृताः किमिति सङ्कटमवगाहन्ते । परैरभृताश्चाशङ्कनीयाः स्युः ॥

एतच्च कृत्वा साधारणार्थप्रतिबन्धकत्वाद् विधानान्तरमाह—**गृहीतपुत्रदारांश्चेति** । प्रच्छन्नगृहपुत्रदारान् । दानमानाभ्यां वा गृहीतपुत्रदारान् **कुर्यात्** । अव्यभिचारार्थम् । **तांश्चोभयवेतनान्** प्रचारनिश्चारार्थमरिणा **प्रहितान् विद्यात्** । **तेषा**मिति प्रहितानाममात्यानां चोभयवेतनानाम् । **शौचम्** अस्मत्कार्यपरा इति । चकारादशौचञ्च विद्यात् । **तद्विधैरिति** । उभयवेतनप्रकारैः सिद्धतापसादिभिः, न तूभयवेतनैः । अरिसाधारणत्वाद् अनवस्थानिवृत्त्यर्थमेवमुच्यते । तथा चाहुः—

कः समानाभिहारेण च्छन्नानुभयवेतनान् ।
भृत्यराशौ स्थितान् वेत्ति शङ्के क्षीरकणानिव ॥

इति ।

T. 61. एवं कर्मसाक्षित्वेन स्थापितोभयवेतनो राजा **एवं शत्रौ मित्रे** तन्मित्रे मित्रामित्रेवान्तर्भावं विजानीयात् । **मध्यमे उदासीने च** वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणे । **चरांश्छत्राद्युपग्राहिण आवपेत्** स्थापयेत् । **तेषाञ्च** विजिगीषुं त्यक्त्वा एकादशानां राज्ञां प्रत्येकम् । **तीर्थेष्वष्टादशस्वपि** । मन्त्रिपुरोहिताः भर्तृकार्यमेषु स्थित्वा तरन्तीति तीर्थानि । तत्रैकादशसु राजसु तदीयेष्वात्मीयेषु च प्रत्येकमष्टादशस्वपि तीर्थेष्विति सप्तविंशत्यधिकं शतद्वयं भवति ॥

एवं गूढपुरुषान् प्रणिधाय चरेषु प्रविभागार्थमाह—**अन्तर्गृहगता** इति । **तेषां चराणाम्** । **कुब्जादय** इति । अन्तर्गृहगता इति यात्रोचितप्रवेशत्वात् ॥

M. 22. न केवलं सञ्चारा **दुर्गेषु वणिजः संस्थाः** वैदेहकव्यञ्जनाः । **दुर्गान्ते** दुर्गस्य प्रान्ते । **सिद्धतापसा** इच्छाविख्यातसिद्धयः स्वापनविसर्जनाकर्षणो .....स्थव्यञ्जना **उदास्थिताश्च राष्ट्रे** जनपदे स्युः । **जनपदान्ते च । व्रजवासिनः** गोरक्षकव्यञ्जनाः । गोपव्यञ्जनस्यास्मादेव विनियोगात् स पाशुपाल्यप्रदिष्टायाम् (इत्या)दिनोत्पत्तिरवगन्तव्या । अथवोदास्थितविशेषोऽयम् , यतः "स वार्ताकर्मप्रदिष्टायां भूमौ" इत्युक्तम् । वार्ता च कृषिः पाशुपाल्यं वणिज्या चेति ॥

वने वनचरा इति । जनपदमध्येऽन्ते वा वनोद्देशे वनचराः **स्थाप्याः** वने चरन्तीति । ते च **श्रमणाटविकादयः** प्रव्रजितक्षपणकप्रकाराः । यान्

वक्ष्यति—"तेषामन्तराणि वागुरिकशबरपुलिन्दादयो रक्षेयुः" । (अधि. २. अध्या. १.) इति । **परप्रवृत्तिज्ञानार्थमिति** । परस्यावस्कन्दापसरणवार्ताज्ञानार्थम् । **शीघ्राः** शीघ्रगतयः । **चारपरम्पराः** चाराणां परम्पराः, अष्टमात्रगव्यूत्यन्तरिताः । ते हि द्रुतं वार्तां सम्पादयन्ति ॥

परस्य वेति । परप्रयुक्ताश्चैते बोद्धव्याः । **तादृशैरेव तादृशा** इति । समानशीला एव समानशीलान् विन्दन्ति । तथा चाहुः—"सर्पस्येव पदान्यहिः स्वचेष्टितेन जानन्ति धूर्ता एव हि धूर्तचेष्टितम्" इति । तदेव दर्शयन्नाह—**चारसञ्चारिण** इति । चारसञ्चारणशीलाः परसंस्थाः स्वचारसञ्चारिभिः स्वसंस्थाभिर्बोद्धव्याः । **गूढाश्च** परगूढपुरुषास्तीक्ष्णरसादयः । **अगूढसंज्ञितैः** स्वगूढपुरुषैरगूढसंज्ञितैरिति । ननु च तांश्चारिप्रहितांस्तद्विधैर्विद्यादित्युक्तमेव किमर्थम् । सत्यम् । उभयवेतनाश्रयेणोक्तम् । इह त्वसाधारणं वेतनाश्रयेणोक्तम् ॥

T. 62. विशेषविधानार्थमाह—**अकृत्यानित्यादि** । न स्वभावतः अकृत्यान्, किन्तु **कृत्यपक्षीयैः** कृत्यवर्गभवैः **कार्यैः** छिद्रकथनावसर्पग्रहणादिभिः । **हेतुभिश्च** संश्रुत्यर्थान् विप्रलब्ध इत्यादिभिः । कृत्याकृतिः परं प्रकाशित्वात् (?) । **परापसर्पज्ञानार्थम्** । **मुख्यान्** अक्षुद्रान् । ते हि परोपजापयोग्याः । **अन्ते** जनपदस्य । **आवासयेत्** । परापसर्पणावहितैः संसृज्य न जनपदं प्रविशन्ति । तेषां कृत्यतया विश्वासस्थानीयत्वादिति ॥

सञ्चरोत्पत्तिर्गूढपुरुषोत्पत्तिः ।
अष्टमं प्रकरणम् ।
द्वादशोऽध्यायः

अथ त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः

शास्त्रकार एव प्रकरणसम्बन्धमाह—**कृतमहामात्रापसर्प** इति । महती मात्रा येषां ते महामात्राः मन्त्रिपुरोहितादयः । तेषु कृताः स्थापिता अपसर्पा गूढपुरुषा येन स राजा । पुरभवान् जनपदभवांश्च अपसर्पयेद् विश्वासयेत् । केऽत्र कृत्याः कर्तव्याः तद्विपरीताश्चाकृत्या इति स्वविषये कृत्याकृत्यपक्षरक्षणमुच्यते । तत्र कृत्याकृत्यपक्षरक्षणपरिज्ञानोपायमाह—**सत्रिण** इति । द्वन्द्वं वैरं तद्विद्यते येषां ते (द्वन्द्विनः) । संवरणार्थमितरे-

तरप्रख्यातवैराः । तीर्थेषु पुण्यस्थानेषु । पूगस्य तपस्विसङ्घस्य समवायः । सभासु मण्डलेषु । जनपदसमवायेषु । विवादं प्रकरणोपहितं कलहं कुर्युः । सर्वगुणसम्पन्नश्चायं राजा देशान्तरेऽस्माभिरन्यैश्च श्रूयते । न चास्यात्र गुणो दृश्यते । यथाहुः—"रागे सार्वगुण्यमेव विरागे दोषसामग्र्यम् ।" यश्चायं राजा अपरागः पौरजानपदान् अल्पविभवान् । पीडयति दिण्डकराभ्याम् ॥

तत्र तस्मिन्नेवमुक्ते । ये वक्तारं संवादेन प्रशंसेयुः साधूक्तमिति । तानुवादिनस्तं च इतरो द्वितीयः सत्री प्रतिषेधयेत् । तिष्ठन्तु तावदस्यान्येऽगुणाः, दण्डकरादानेनैव तावदिहामुत्र च लोके युष्मानुगृह्णाति । तथा हि श्रूयते—

कृतयुगे किल अननुभूतदोषत्वाद् विनैव राजभिः स्वधर्मकर्माभिरताः प्रजा आसन् । त्रेतादौ कालदोषादनिवार्यलोकप्रसराः पत्न्यादिषु प्रवर्तन्ते (?) । इतरे कर्षकादयश्च । वैवस्वतं विवस्वत्पुत्रमन्वयगौरवयुक्तम् । राजानं पालयितारं चक्रिरे । कृतकृत्याश्च तेऽस्य षड्भागं व्रीह्यादीनां षष्ठं भागम् । पण्य दशभागं पणितव्यादीनां शङ्खलोहवस्त्रादीनां दशमं भागम् । हिरण्यस्य सुवर्णस्य राज्ञः . कतिभाग इत्यत उक्तं तत्सर्वमेवाकरेषूत्पन्नं भागमेव भागधेयं कल्पयामासुः । ततो हि कामं श्रमफलमेषां राजैव दद्यात् । हिरण्यग्रहणं मणिमुक्तोदाहरणार्थम् । तेन च यथोक्तभागेन भृता राजानः प्रजानां भृतनिष्क्रयार्थं योगक्षेमावहाः योगक्षेमयोरावहाः । योगाः कर्मणां प्रवर्तनाः; प्रवृत्तानां रक्षणं क्षेमः । तत्र योऽपराधाद् (नैजनो ? देहजो)दण्डः यश्च रक्षासाधनार्थो बलिः करसंज्ञः, (तेन ? तौ) भागत्वेन अपरिकल्पितावपि व्यवस्थार्थमुत्सृष्टव्यौ । को ह्यत्रापकारो राज्ञाम् । अन्यथा हि तेषां प्रमाद किल्बिषम् अदण्डधरो राजा हरति । न चैव प्रजानामयमुपकारो यद्रक्षणम् । तासामपि हि प्रजानां किल्बिषम् अयोगक्षेमावहा राजानो हरन्ति । तस्मादारण्यकाः अरण्यवासिनः । उञ्छ(शेषं ? षड्) भागमिति । उपसंहृतस्यात् खलात् क्षेत्राद्वा यदवकीर्णं धान्यादि तस्योच्चयनम् उञ्छ उच्यते । तस्य षड्भागमनादित्सितमपि राज्ञो देवताया इवादृष्टार्थं भूमौ निर्वपन्ति प्रयच्छन्ति । तस्यैतद्भागधेयं योऽयमस्मान् गोपायति रक्षतीति । तान्निषिध्य क्षुद्रकानपि प्रतिषेधयन्नाह—इन्द्रयमस्थानमिति । इन्द्रो यमश्चात्र तत्कर्मादिचरणात् साक्षादिव वसतः । ऐश्वर्यप्रकर्षादिन्द्र इव अपक्षपातदण्डत्वाच्च यम इवायं प्रत्यक्षबाधप्रसादत्वादिति । प्रत्यक्षहेडप्रसादा इति । हेडो निग्रहः तेन यमः,

प्रसादेनानुग्रहेणेन्द्रः । अयं तु विशेषो यदस्य प्रत्यक्षौ हेडप्रसादौ । **तान् राज्ञः अवमन्यमानान् दैवो दण्डः** वह्न्युदकादिपीडा स्पृशति । तस्माद्राजानो रञ्जयितारः कृतघ्नैर्भूत्वा **नावमन्तव्याः** । **क्षुद्रकान्** दृष्टमात्रशरणान् **प्रतिषेधयेत्** सत्री । **किंवदन्तीं च** जनवादं निन्दया प्रशंसया वा को राजानमाहेति प्रतिविधानार्थं सत्रिणो विदुः ॥

येचास्येति । ये जनपदमुख्या महत्तरा जनपदस्य **धान्यपशुहिरण्यान्याजीवन्ति** आददति आहृतवृद्धियोजनलाभेन उपजीवन्ति । **व्यसनेऽभ्युदये च** उत्सवे जाते **तैरेव** धान्यादिभिः जनपदस्योद्धारेण राज्ञो वा उद्धारोपायनादिभि-**रुपकुर्वन्ति** । **कुपितं** बन्धुजनस्य राज्ञो वा तत्कुलीनं व्यावर्तयन्ति अन्तरा प्रविश्य प्रत्याययन्ति । **राष्ट्रम्** अपरागात् कुपितं सामादिभिर्वा यथायोगं व्यावर्तयन्ति वारयन्ति । **अमित्रं वा आटविकजनं वा प्रतिषेधयन्ति** । राज्ञां वा अमित्रम् आटविकं वा व्युत्थितं संभावयन्तमुपगम्य दण्डकर्मणा प्रतिषेधयन्ति तदसम्पर्कार्थम् । **तेषामिति** मुख्यानाम् । **मुण्डजटिलव्यञ्जनाः** परमार्थतो येऽमुण्डजटिलास्तद्व्यञ्जनाः । **तुष्टातुष्टत्वमुपकारापकाराङ्गभूतं विदुः** ॥

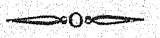
एषां भविष्यत्कृत्यानां रक्षणोपायमाह—**तुष्टानिति** । तुष्टानतिशयार्थं **भूयः** पूजामानाभ्याम् । **अतुष्टांस्तुष्टिहेतोरिति** । तुष्टिरेव भविष्यती हेतुः तदर्थम् । **त्यागेन** दानेन देयविसर्गादिना पञ्चविधेन **प्रसाधयेत्** तोषयेत् । **परस्पराद्वेति** । संहतत्वाद्दानमवमन्यमानानन्योन्यस्माद् **भेदयेत्** । यथा अपकाराय न संहन्यन्ते कुतश्चिदाश्रयादबहुमानानाश्रयेभ्यः सामन्तादिभ्यो भेदयेत् । तथा **अवरुद्धो** निर्धारितः । **तथापि** जनपदव्यपाश्रयादेव दानेन **अतुष्यतस्तान्** । **दण्डकरसाधनाधिकारेणेति** । दण्डकरयोः साधनेऽधिकुर्यात्, तेन साधनाधिकारेण । **जनपदविद्वेषं ग्राहयेत्** तेहि साधयन्तो नियतं तद्द्वेष्या भवन्ति । ततश्च जनपदमात्रसहायत्वात् तेन चेत्यक्ताः किमु तैस्तुष्टैः । तस्मादपवादमात्रपरिहारार्थं **विद्विष्टानुपांशुदण्डेन साधयेत्** । **जनपदकोपेन चेति** जनपदमेव वा प्रकोप्यैतेनैव साधयेत् । **गुप्तपुत्रदारानिति** । दुर्गादिप्रवेशितपुत्रदारान् वा जनपदाद् वियोजयितुमाकरकर्मान्तेषु वा तदध्यक्षान् **वासयेद्** अधिकुर्यादित्यर्थः । **परेषामास्पदभयादिति** । अन्यथा जनपदस्थिताः संस्थादिभावेन परेषामास्पदमवस्थानं स्युरिति भयाद्वासयेत् ॥

केनपुनः स्फुटाः कृत्याकृत्याः कुद्वादयो वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणाः **परेषां** शत्रूणामात्मसात्कर्तव्यतया **कृत्याः** । **तेषां** रक्षणोपायमाह—**तेषामिति** ।

कार्तान्तिकनैमित्तिकव्यञ्जना इति । कृतान्तः सिद्धान्तोऽभिधीयते । कृतान्तमधीयत इति कार्तान्तिकाः निमित्तमधीयत इति नैमित्तिकाः । तद्व्यञ्जनाः, इदं शुभमशुभं वा भवितेति समादिशन्तः प्रष्टृणामाविष्कृतमनोरथाः । परस्पराभिसम्बन्धमिति । बाह्यानां बाह्यैराभ्यन्तराणामाभ्यन्तरैः सम्बन्धमुपजापम् । अमित्रसम्बन्धं वा कः केन राज्ञो मित्रेण सम्बध्यत इति विद्युः । तत्र स्वराजन्येव तुष्टान् अकृत्यान् प्राप्तापूजानपि दार्ढ्यार्थं अन्येषां तथाचरणार्थं भक्तिमेव प्रख्याप्य दानमानाभ्यां च पूजयेत् । अतुष्टानतस्तत्र कृत्यान् । सामदानभेददण्डैः क्रमविधानार्थं प्रतिपदग्रहणम्, शमयेद् अकृत्यतामापादयेदित्यर्थः ॥

उपसंहरन्नाह—एवमिति । पूजया सामादिभिश्च कृत्यानकृत्यांश्च विचक्षण इति वैचक्षण्यादन्यानप्येवं जानीयादिति । परोपजापात् शत्रुकृताद्भेदात् सम्यग् रक्षेत् प्रधानानमात्यान् क्षुद्रकान् जानपदानिति ॥

इति स्वविषये कृत्याकृत्यपक्षरक्षणं नवमं प्रकरणम् ।
त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥



अथ चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः

शास्त्रकार एव प्रकरणसम्बन्धमाह—कृत्याकृत्यपक्षोपग्रह इति । ननु च सामर्थ्यादेव गम्यते स्वविषये व्याख्यात इति, वक्ष्यमाणत्वाच्च परविषये वाच्य इति । तस्मादयमर्थः । स्वविषये कृत्याकृत्योपग्रहो यस्तुष्टान् भूयः पूजयेद् अतुष्टान् सामादिभिः साधयेदिति, स परविषयेऽपि वाच्यः । राज्ञो गुणैरनुरक्तान् पूजयेद् अतुष्टान् सामादिभिरात्मसात्कुर्यादिति ॥

क्षुद्रादीनां कृत्यानां लक्षणमाह—संश्रुत्येत्यादि । "साहस्रो राजपथः" (अधि. १०. अध्या. ३) इत्यादि संश्रुत्य प्रतिज्ञायार्थान्, कृते कर्मणि अदानादल्पदानमानाद्वा विप्रलब्धो वञ्चितः क्रुध्यति । तुल्यकारिण इति । शिल्पविषये उपकारविषये वा दर्शिततुल्यास्त्रशस्त्रशिल्पत्वाद्वा कृततुल्योपकाराद्वा विमानितः कृतहीनमानः क्रुध्यति । वल्लभावरुद्धः राजवल्लभैरवरुद्धः सुभगातत्पुत्रभ्रात्रादिभिर्वा परिभूतः क्रुद्ध एवास्ते । समाहूय पराजित इति । अर्थपतिना आत्मपतिना मित्रवता बलवता प्रचण्डेन गुरुणा नीचेन तपस्विना सह विवादं वर्जयेदिति परिहरन्नपि सम्यगहं ते व्यवहारं द्रक्ष्यामीति

NOTES ON THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUṬALYA*

BY

G. HARIHARA SASTRI

The *Arthaśāstra* was first brought out by Dr. Shama Sastri at Mysore in 1908 and he published also an English translation of the work in 1915. Afterwards two more editions appeared, one from Lahore by Dr. J. Jolly and the other from Trivandrum by Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri. The Lahore edition does not differ much from the Mysore one. The Trivandrum edition is accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary, based, in the main, on materials found in some ancient commentaries and presents a text far better than the other two. But it is not a critical edition based on adequate textual materials. The *Arthaśāstra* deals with manifold subjects and is said to be a cyclopaedia of ancient India. It is a terse and difficult work containing several archaisms; the text presented to us is not free from corrupt and obscure passages and a great deal of critical study and revision should precede a final and correct interpretation of it. There have been stray attempts by different scholars at discussing readings and meanings of certain words in the text.[1] In the following pages are given some corrections and emendations that suggested themselves to me in the course of my studies of the text of the Mysore and Trivandrum editions and of the interpretations given by Ganapati Sastri in his commentary and by Shama Sastri in his translation.

1. *Prahavaṇa*

The word *pravahaṇa* occurs thirteen[2] times in the *Arthaśāstra*. In both the editions it is printed as *pravahaṇa* or *prahavaṇa* indiscriminately and explained as 'commercial vessel', 'sacrificial performance' etc. The old Tamil-Malayalam commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* takes the word to mean '*udyānabhojana*' (picnic in the garden), and the Trivandrum Sanskrit commentary which follows in its foot-

* A paper submitted to the 19th A.I.O.C., Delhi, 1957.

1. See *e.g.* in this same journal, VIII. 352-57, the present writer, on Some Terms of Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra, XV. 110-6, V. Raghavan, on the word *Kauśika*; and XX. 5-10, Y. D. Sharma on some architectural words.

2. I. 10, 21; III. 10; IV. 5; V. 2; VII. 17; XII. 5; XIII. 2, 3, 4.

steps labours hard to bring out the meaning from the words: प्रवहणं नौविशेषः कर्णीरथश्च । तेन जलस्थलयात्राक्रीडोद्यानभोजनादिकं गोष्ठीकौतुकं लक्ष्यते । I. 10, p. 33. Here another old commentary called *Jayamaṅgalā*[1] on the *Arthaśāstra* comes to our help. It reads *prahavaṇa* and deriving it from the root '*hve*' with, *pra*, "to call or invite,' explains it as a marriage or festive occasion to which friends and relations are invited: 'प्रहवणनिमित्तमिति—प्रहूयन्ते (आ)ह्वयन्ते अस्मिन् स्वजनमित्राणि इति प्रहवणम् उद्वाहादिरुत्सवः । (p. 33). The word may also be derived from the root '*hu*' with *pra*, 'to perform sacrifice, to eat, to rejoice.'[2] This term of ordinary occurrence has not survived in the extant lexicons or literature.

2. *Abhyābhavet*

Kauṭalya uses the word *abhyābhavet* in eleven[3] places, in the sense of restoring or returning. The Trivandrum editor took it for a scribal error for *abhyāvahet* and corrected it accordingly on the ground that the letter *ha* resembles *bha* in Malayalam manuscripts and that the former form is nowhere seen. However, as the manuscripts he consulted read consistently as *abhyābhavet*, he could not let it pass without remark, as the edition was in progress:

'अभ्यावहेत् । इह च उत्तरत्र च 'अभ्याभवेद्' इति मातृकासु पाठो दृश्यते । स तु 'अभ्यावहेद्' इत्यस्मिन्नेव पदे केरलीयलिपिलिखिते 'ह'कारे 'भ'कारभ्रान्तिं कृत्वा वकारस्य तदुत्तरस्थानस्थितियोग्यतां मन्यमानेन लेखकेन कल्पितो नूनम् । अभ्याङ्पूर्वस्य भवतेर्वा प्रत्यर्पणार्थत्वम् अदृष्टश्रुतस्यापि लिपिलेखनप्रामाण्याभिमाने कल्पनीयम् । (III. 12; TSS. 80, p. 72). This emendation is unnecessary. The word survives as *ābhavet* in the *Nārada Smṛti* in similar contexts.[4] The

1. Published as supplement to the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1951-58. Page-references to *Jayamaṅgalā* refer to this edition of thē work.

2. इह मद्यप्रहवणेति प्रहवणशब्द एव मातृकाग्रन्थेषु सर्वेषु पठ्यते । स च प्रपूर्वाज्जुहोतेरधिकरणे ल्युटि साध्यः । प्रकर्षेण हूयते दीयते पानभोजनादिकमस्मिन्निति प्रहवणं गोष्ठीरचनमुच्यते । प्रवहणशब्दस्य यथेदृशोऽर्थस्तथोक्तं प्राक् ।' (*TSS* 80, p. 77.)

3. II. 28, 29; III. 9, 12; IV. 1,13.

4. (i) स्तोमवाहीनि भाण्डानि पूर्णकालान्युपानयेत्।
ग्रहीतुराभवेद् भग्नं नष्टं चान्यत्र संप्लवात् ॥
(VII. 23, *TSS.* 97, p. 105.)

Mysore text reads it as *abhyābhavet*, in all the eleven contexts and the Tamil-Malayalam commentary makes use of the word *ābhavārha* in similar import.

3. *Madirā*

The word *Madirā* is mentioned along with *Aparājita* and other deities to whom apartments are allocated in a fort (*durga*) in the passage : अपराजित-अप्रतिहत-जयन्त-वैजयन्त-कोष्ठकान् शिव-वैश्रवण-अश्वि-श्री-मदिरागृहं च पुरमध्ये कारयेत् ।' (II. 4). The commentaries, old and new, have left the word un-explained. The Mysore editor takes *śrīmadirā-gṛham* as one word and renders it in his English translation as 'the honourable liquor house', which is obviously incongruous. The *Mayamata*,[1] a treatise on architecture, reproduces the above passage in a metrical form and locates *madirālaya* in the *Vāyupada*,[2] the plot of *Vāyu*, and the *Paddhati* of Īśānaśiva,[3] another treatise on architecture, reads *Jyeṣṭhā* in the place of *Madirā* in the same context. It is evident from this that *Madirā* is another name for the the deity *Jyeṣṭhā*, whose worship seems to be in vogue even as early as the time of Kauṭalya.

4. *Varṇottarāṇām*

After assigning plots for the temples of deities, the *Arthaśāstra* speaks of sites for the crematory in the passage, उत्तरः पूर्वो वा श्मशानवाटः दक्षिणेन वर्णोत्तराणाम् । (II. 4), and the English translation takes it to mean that the cremation ground of the people of the highest caste shall be situated to the south of the city and that of the other castes, either to the north or the east. The Trivadrum editor prefers the reading *varṇottamānām* and explains it as *śūdrāṇām*, contrary to the

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(ii) न च भार्याकृतम् ऋणं कथञ्चित् पत्युराभवेत् ।
(I. 15, *Ibid* p. 25)

(iii) शुल्कं गृहीत्वा पण्यस्त्री नेच्छन्ती द्विस्तदाभवेत् ।
(VII. 20, *Ibid* p. 104)

1. इन्द्रश्च वासुदेवो गुहो जयन्तश्च वैश्रवणः ।
अश्विन्यौ श्रीमदिरे शिवश्च दुर्गा सरस्वती चेति ॥
प्राकारान्तर्दिव्या दुर्गनिवेशे च विज्ञेयाः । (*TSS.* 65, p. 44)

2. भृङ्गपदे चैव जिनधाम ।
मादिरालयमथ वायौ मुख्ये कात्यायनीवासः ॥ (*Ibid*. p. 32)

3. भृङ्गे जिनस्य ज्येष्ठाया वायौ चण्ड्यास्तु मुख्यके ।
(*Iśānaśivagurudeva-Paddhati, TSS. 77*, p. 239)

accepted sense of the word, and leaves the other words unexplained. Kauṭalya uses the word *varṇottama* in the sense of Brahman in the passage: वर्णोत्तमानां गुरूणां च हस्तपादलङ्घने .....सप्तशतो वा दण्डः' । (IV. 10). Here the commentary called *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* on the *Arthaśāstra* throws light on the passage under discussion:

उत्तर इति—चतुर्धा श्मशानं विभज्य शूद्राणाम् । प्रथमाद् भागाद् उत्तरो वैश्यानाम् । ततोऽप्युत्तरः क्षत्रियाणाम् । ततोऽप्युत्तरो ब्राह्मणानाम् । पूर्वो वेति—शूद्राणाम् । प्रथमात् पूर्वो वैश्यानाम् । ततोऽपि पूर्वः क्षत्रियाणाम् । ततोऽपि ब्राह्मणानामिति । कस्यां दिशि श्मशानमिति—दक्षिणेन नगरस्येति । अर्थात् । धनुश्शतावकृष्टमिति वर्तते[1] ।

The purport of the commentary is this: The crematory shall be situated on the right side of the city at a distance of 100 *dhanus* away from the moat around the fort. The site shall be divided into four parts, and the four castes beginning with Śūdras shall take up one part each in order, either from the rear (*uttara*) or from the front (*pūrva*).

5. 'त्रिवर्षप्रजातायास्तुल्यो गन्तुम् अदोषः । ततः परमतुल्योऽप्यनलंकृतायाः' । (IV. 12.)

This passage is explained by both the editors thus: It is no offence for a man of equal caste to have connection with a girl who has remained unmarried for three years after puberty; nor is it an offence for a man of different caste to do so if she remains unmarried long after the period, provided she does not take with her the paternal ornaments given to her. In the Trivandrum commentary, the word *tulya* is taken as the subject of the sentence and construed with *adoṣa*, the latter being explained as 'one who is not guilty' (*nirdoṣa*). According to this construction, *guntum* stands without an object and has to be supplied by *trivarṣa-prajātām*. It seems however that Kauṭalya takes *tulya* as the object of *gantum* (used as a verbal noun) and *adoṣā* (no offence) in a predicative sense[2] as in 'म्लेच्छानाम् अदोषः प्रजां

1. M. with the writer, p. 110.
2. *Vide* similar archaisms:

(i) 'शूरैस्त्यक्तात्मभिः सह योद्धुं साहसम्, जनक्षयमुभयतः कर्तुमधर्मः, दृष्टमर्थं मित्रमदुष्टं च त्यक्तुमर्थातिक्रमः' । (XII. 2.)

(ii) 'कृच्छ्रः परग्रामो गन्तुम्' । (IV. 5.)

विक्रेतुं आधातुं वा ।' (III. 13) : It is no offence among Mlecchas to sell or mortgage their offspring. The passage should be rendered thus: It is no offence for a girl who is not given in marriage for three years after puberty to marry a man of a equal caste; and three years after that, even a man of unequal caste without taking possession of the ornaments given by her parents. This rendering is supported by the Tamil-Malayalam commentary[1] and also by the corresponding portion in Manu which looks like a metrical paraphrase of the passage under consideration:

त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमार्यृतुमती सती ।
ऊर्ध्वं तु कालाद् एतस्माद् विन्देत सदृशं पतिम् ॥
अदीयमाना भर्तारम् अधिगच्छेद् स्वयं यदि ।
नैनः किञ्चिद् अवाप्नोति न च यं साधिगच्छति ॥
अलङ्कारं नाददीत पित्र्यं कन्या स्वयंवरा ।
मातृकं भ्रातृदत्तं वा स्तेना स्याद् यदि तं हरेत् ॥

(IX. 90-92)

6. *Garbha, Paṇya, Ḍimbha*

The passage 'बहुपुत्रः प्रत्यन्तम् अन्यविषयं वा प्रेषयेत् । यत्र गर्भः पण्यं डिम्भो वा न भवेत् ।' (I. 17) is rendered in the Trivandrum commentary[2] as follows: "If a king has many sons, of whom one hates his father, then he (the king) should send away his undesirable son to the country of Mlecchas or to some other country where the prince may not have proper

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(iii) 'दुःखं त्यक्तुं बद्धमूलोऽनुरागः' । (*Svapnavāsavadatta*, IV. 6.)

(iv) 'अल्पसाधनं गृहम् आदीपयितुम्' । (*Pratijñayaugandharāyaṇa*, III. 4.)

(v) 'सुसुखं कर्तुमव्ययम्' । (*Bhagavadgītā*, IX. 2)

In the above illustrations, the words in bold type, are used in a predicative sense.

1. மூவாண்டு தெருண்டிருந்த கந்யக துல்யஜாதியனெ கமிச்சால் தண்டமில்ல. மூவாண்டு கழிஞ்ஞால் அதுல்யனெ கமிக்கிலும் தண்டமில்ல, பித்ரு தனம் கொண்டு போகாக்கால். (pp. 727-8 of Ms. with the writer).

2. यत्र गर्भः पण्यं डिम्बो वा न भवेत्—यस्मिन् देशे गर्भः अन्नं राजपुत्रोचितं, पण्यं तादृशं वसनादिकम् आपणलभ्यं भोग्यवस्तु, डिम्बो राजपुत्रनिमित्तः प्रकृतीनां विप्लवश्च, न स्यात् । (*TSS.* 79, p. 88.)

food to eat (*garbha*) and good things to purchase for enjoyment (*paṇya*) and where his presence will not be an occasion for the people to rise against the kingdom." Here the interpretation of the words *garbha, paṇya* and *ḍimbha* is but conjectural. The *Jayāmaṅgalā* commentary gives a natural and more reasonable meaning:

'बहुपुत्रो राजा विरागमप्रियं प्रत्यन्तम् अनार्याधिष्ठितम् । अन्यविषयं वा अरिमित्रोदासीनमण्डलाद् बहिः प्रेषयेत् । यत्र प्रत्यन्तेऽन्यविषये वा । गर्भः पण्यं डिम्भो वा न भवेत् । गर्भ इव गर्भः, यत्रैनं पुत्रतया जामातृतया (वा) गर्भीकृत्य स्नेहात् प्रात्यन्तिका अन्यवैषयिका वा न विकुर्वते । पण्यवत् पण्यम्, यत्रैनं प्रसार्य भिक्षया न शक्तिम् आत्मनः पूरयन्ति । डिम्भकारणत्वाद् डिम्भः, यत्र तदाश्रयात् कृत्यान् उपगृह्य नोपद्रवं कुर्युः' । (p. 59).

"The king should keep his undesirable son under custody in the country of Anārya or in another country away from the circle of enemies, friends and neutrals, where the guardian of the prince will not make his ward, his son or son-in-law (*garbha*), or will not show him off as a marketable article (*paṇya*), with a view to strengthening his power, or will not keep him a mere child or puppet (*ḍimbha*) and with his support incite the corruptibles against the state.")

7. राज्यकामुकं.....शिरोहस्तप्रादीपिकं घातयेत् । (IV. 11.),

Kauṭalya lays down that a person who is guilty of covetting the kingdom should be burnt alive; he then prescribes different punishments if the offender is a Brahman in the sentence, 'ब्राह्मणं तमपः प्रवेशयेत्' which is rendered in the English translation as, 'If a Brahman does similar acts, he shall be drowned.' The Trivandrum edition reads: ब्राह्मणं तमः प्रवेशयेत् and explains it as 'the Brahman offender should be shut up in a dungeon for life.' In the story of Arthapāla in the *Daśakumāracarita*, IV, we read:

'राज्यकामुकस्य अस्य ब्राह्मणस्य अन्धतमसप्रवेशो न्याय्य इति प्राद्विवाकवाक्याद् अक्ष्युद्धरणाय नीयते'[1]

'This Brahman (Kāmapāla) guilty of having aimed at the kingdom is taken for his eyes being pulled out, as sentenced by Prāḍvivāka.' In the light of above quotation, the sentence of *Kauṭalya* may be emended as ब्राह्मणम् अन्धतमसं प्रवेशयेत् ।

1. p. 179; N. S. Press edn., Bomay.

8. *Cakrin*

चक्रिन् (III. 8) is explained as 'goat and an ox'[1] and 'चक्रयुक्त' (III. 12) 'as caused by fraudulent device[2]' in the Trivandrum commentary. The Tamil-Malayalam commentary takes these two words in the sense of 'a wheeled carriage' and it is supported by *Amara*:

याने चक्रिणि युद्धार्थे शताङ्गः स्यन्दनो रथः ।
असौ पुष्यरथश्चक्रयुक्तं[3] न समराय यत् ॥ (III. 8. 51-2.)

9. *Satyaparigraha*

The sentence 'ब्राह्मणस्य सत्रिपरिग्रहः' (IV. 8) is explained in the English translation and in the Trivandrum commentary[4] thus: 'For eliciting confession from a Brahman when he is being suspected of being guilty, he should be subjected to the harassment of espionage.' The Tamil-Malayalam commentary reads सत्यपरिग्रह and explains that a Brahman should be asked to swear by truth[5]. In the Dharmasthīya Court of Kauṭalya, a Brahman witness is asked to swear by truth[6] and the word परिग्रह is used in the sense of 'taking oath'; this sense is supported by lexicons[7].

1. चक्रिस्थानम् अजबलीवर्दस्थानम् । (*TSS.* 80, p. 47)

2. चक्रयुक्ते नाशे वा, चक्रं छद्मविशेषः, तत्प्रयुक्ते नाशे वा । (*Ibid.* p. 72)

3. The reading 'चक्रयानम्' in the printed editions is an error for 'चक्रयुक्तम्' ।

4. सत्रिपरिग्रहः, सत्रिभिः परिग्रहणं, तथा परिग्रहणेन तत इतः पर्यटनक्लेशयोजनेति यावत् । (*TSS.* 80, p. 155.)

5. 'ஸத்தியத்திலேடு சூழறிப்பிது' (Ms. p. 708)

6. 'ब्राह्मणादकुम्भाग्निसकाशे साक्षिणः परिगृह्णीयात् । तत्र ब्राह्मणं ब्रूयात्—'सत्यं ब्रूहि' इति । (*TSS.* 80, pp. 68-9.) *Cf.* also सत्येन शापयेद् विप्रम् । (Manu, VIII. 133).

7. परिग्रहस्तु शपथे (*Nānārthārṇava-saṁkṣepa, TSS.* 31, p. 14)

KHĀRAPAṬA AND MULADEVA

(PANDIT G. HARIHAR SASTRI)

When dealing with the implements of torture, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya says that their details should be learnt from *Kharapaṭa*. In the farce called *Mattavilāsaprahasana* attributed to the Pallava King Mahendra Vikrama Varman I of the first half of the seventh century A.D., Kharapaṭa is said to be an author of *Chora-Śāstra* (the science of theft). A few particulars of this interesting Śāstra can be gleaned from the famous theft scene in the third Act of the *Mṛchchhakaṭika*. In it the Brahmin thief Śarvilaka describes various kinds of apertures to be made in the wall; and before undertaking the operation pays homage to Kumāra-Kārtikeya, Kanakaśakti, Bhāskara-Nandin and Yogāchārya; and the thief himself, we are told, was the first disciple of Yogāchārya who having been pleased with his disciple bestowed on him an ointment or powder (Yogarochanā) having the power of making its possessor immune from public gaze and from the wound of weapons The thieves are said to be famed as *Skandaputras*, and some of the implements they carry with them are said to be *mānasūtra* (measuring string) and *pratipuruṣa* (an effigy of a man pushed into the house to ascertain if anybody is awake). A longer list of implements is given in the second Uchchhvāsa of the *Daśakumāracharita* which mentions *ardhoruka* (a kind of petticoat), *phaṇimukha* (a kind of spade in the shape of a snake's head), *kāhalī* (a musical instrument to test if a person is asleep or awake), *sandamśaka* (a pair of pincers), *puruṣairshaka* (an effigy) *yogachūrṇa* (a powder of miraculous powder), *mānasūtra* (a measuring string), *karakaṭakarajju* (a rope to climb the wall with), *dipabbājana* (a magic lamp) and *bhramarakaraṇṭaka* (a box containing moths that put out the light). The incomplete play called *Chārudatta*, which is ascribed to Bhāsa and the plot of which resembles that of *Mṛchchhakaṭika* in almost every respect, has also the theft scene in its third act where the thief Sajjalaka invokes the blessings of Kharapaṭa instead of Kārtikeya. It is evident from this that, in the early centuries of the Christian era, there was prevalent a systematic treatise on theft written by Kharapaṭa.

Later Sanskrit literature, however, confounds Kharapaṭa with Mūladeva; and the *Hārāvali* of Puruṣottama Deva gives Karṇīsuta, Kharapaṭa, Mūladeva and Kaḷāṅkura as synonyms.

Bāṇa alludes to Mūladeva in his *Harṣacharita*. The manuscript of the work existing in the Trivandrum Palace Manuscripts Library, which contains many ancient and valuable manuscripts, reads the passage referring to the assassination of Sumitra thus:—

अतिदयितालास्यस्य च मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवाल्ुनट् अग्नि मित्राग्रजस्य सुमित्रस्यमूलदेवः ।

which says that Mūladeva having been in the midst of actors, cut off the head of Sumitra, the elder brother of Agnimitra Daṇḍin is the next author in point of age that refers to Mūladeva. In his *Avantisundari-Katha* of which a very ancient and hopelessly fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript has recently been procured for the Trivandrum Sanskrit Publication Department, Daṇḍin is found to allude to Mūladeva in more than one place. In describing his ancestry in the introduction of this work, the author tells us that his ancestors came from North-Western India and settled in *Achalapura*, which was set apart for his friend Achala by Mūladeva, the originator of all doctrines of gallantry. Elsewhere in the same work, when Rājahaṃsa is narrating to his Queen Vasumatī the history of her forefathers, there occurs the passage:—

(तं) पुनः समुद्धृत्य पुष्यमित्रोनाम शुङ्गस्तस्यैव सेनापतिर्ब्राह्मणायनो (भर्तृलक्ष्मीनाशदुर्मन्त्री वीतभयभञ्जनो ?) ज्वलितमौर्यवंशंच मूलदेवं युधिनिहत्य षट्त्रिंशत् समाः स्थास्यति ।

This looks like a reproduction of the statement of the Purāṇic chronology and makes it clear that Puṣyamitra of Sunga family, having deposed Brhadratha and killed Mūladeva in battle, the destroyer of the Maurya line reigned for 36 years. Puṣyamitra is said to have waited long before he could formally assume the imperial power, and the above passage of Daṇḍin brings out the new fact that Puṣyamitra had on his way to the throne an adversary in the person of Mūladeva, who had treacherously killed his son Sumitra and destroyed the Maurya line.

The author of the commentary *Jayamangala* on the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, when dealing with the *mlechchhita-vikalpa* (systems of cipher-writing) cites, by way of illustration, two systems, one founded by Kauṭilya and the other by Mūladeva. This fact that Kauṭilya and Mūladeva were the authors of systems of cipher-writing is quite in keeping with the tradition that ascribes to them mastery of all sciences and arts. The system of Mūladeva, it may be noted here, is preserved intact in Kerala along with many other ancient Indian survivals, and the sons of the land are found to make use of it on occasions of secrecy.

The Bhāṇa *Padmaprābhṛtaka* attributed to Śūdraka, which has for its plot the love between Mūladeva and Vipulā, exhibits Mūladeva as a Dhūrtachārya (a beau-ideal) and as proficient in all arts; and Mūladeva is called in it by the name of *Karṇīsuta*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva connects Mūladeva with Vikramāditya of legendary fame; and in Ksemendra's *Kalāvilāsa,* Mūladeva figures as a teacher of *Kalās*, lecturing to sons of gentlemen and making them wealthier by his teachings.

In Bāṇa's *Kādambari* the story of Karṇīsuta is referred to as invariably associated with Vipulā, Achala, and Śaśa. The Jain Upādhyāya Śubhachandra, commenting on the story of Karṇīsuta, says that Karṇīsuta was a Kṣatriya, had two companions named Vipulā and Achala, and a minister Śaśa; and quotes in support of his comment, a passage identifying Karṇīsuta with Kharapaṭa; and further tells us that the story of Karṇīsuta is recounted in the *Bṛhat-kathā*. Another commentary named *Kādambari-padārtha-darpaṇa* by an anonymous author gives out that Karṇīsuta was a king, and Vipulā and Achalā were his two wives, and that he had a minister named Śaśa. Another erudite commentary in metrical form called *Āmoda* by *Aṣṭamūrti* (probably a Nambitiri Brahmin of Malabār) tells us of his having heard a story of Karṇīsuta, in which Karṇīsuta is represented as a Brahmin teacher of *Chora-vidyā,* with Vipula and Achala as his two disciples.

The love-story of Mūladeva and Devadattā is dealt with in the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* of the Jain author Somaprabha, and in it Mūladeva is said to be a beautiful person, proficient in all Kalās and a fountain of all good qualities. Gambling, burglary, abduction,

illicit love and such other immoralities are included among the teachings of Karṇisuta in the *Daśa-kumāra-charita*.

These are some of the notions that have gathered around the name of Kharapaṭa, Mūladeva and Karṇīsuta, which exhibit a person, whatever his name, as the author of a treatise on theft, advocating burglary and murder, as a romantic adventurer and a cynosure of all the gay gallants, a master and teacher of all Kalās, possessing all good qualities, and as a daring opponent of an usurper of the imperial throne. As it is highly doubtful if one and the same person could have possessed all these attributes, the correctness of the identification of the names based on the lexicon *Hārāvalī* has to be held under abeyance until fresh light is thrown on it by further researches Besides, the mention of the word Kharapaṭa in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭīlya, which, from the weight of evidence, is now accepted to be the real work of the minister of Chandragupta Maurya, disproves the identity, inasmuch as Mūladeva is said to be a contemporary of Puṣyamitra.

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES IN THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUṬALYA*

By
G. HARIHARA SASTRI

I. Salaries were yearly

In Book V, Chapter 3, *Bhṛtyabharaṇīya*, on the Maintenance of Government Servants, Kauṭalya states that the annual administrative expenditure of a State should be determined with due regard to the resources of the State and that it should normaly be one-fourth of the total revenue. This amount, he adds, may be exceeded for securing efficient staff, without violating the course of *Dharma* and *Artha*. A list of Government officials and king's servants is also given with the mention of their salaries against each, which range from 48,000 *paṇas* to the highest functionary to 60 *paṇas* to a servant of the lowest order. It is not, however, specified whether these amounts are for a month or for an year, and scholars hold divergent views on the matter. Again Kauṭalya uses the term *bhakta-vetana* (foodgrain and salaries) with reference to payment for services rendered and the ancient Sanskrit commentaries on the *Arthaśāstra* take the term to mean the supply of foodgrains for a day and salaries for an year. The relevent text of the *Arthaśāstra* and the commentaries thereon run as follows:

राजोपजीविनां प्रग्रह-प्रदेश-भोग-परिहार-भक्तवेतन-लाभम्.....

निबन्धपुस्तकस्थं कारयेत् । (*Arthaśāstra* II. 7.)

"The Officer-in-charge of Accounts shoulder enter in the register the customary reception accorded to officers, presents given, perquisites enjoyed, remission of taxes made, and *foodgrain and salaries* granted."

Com. भक्तं दिवसानुवृत्तम्, वेतनं प्रतिवर्षं भृतिः । p. 112. *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* by Bhikṣuprabhamati.[1]

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1. It is now being edited as Supplement to the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XXVI (1956-57) ff,

राजविवादस्तु प्रकृतीनां द्विगुणभक्तवेतनपरिहारकरः ।

(*Arthaśāstra* VIII. 4.)

"Quarrels among kings will result in people getting double the amount of *foodgrain, salaries* and remission of taxes."

Com. भक्तम् आह्निकलाभः, वेतनं वर्षादिनियतं हिरण्यम् ।

Nayacandrikā of Mādhava Yajvan, Edn. *Punjab Sanskrit Series*, No. 4, vol. ii, p. 96)

On the authority of these commentaries we may take that the salaries that Kauṭalya prescribes are annual. However monthly distribution of salaries are more convenient to officers as well as to the exchequer. It appears that payments were made monthly and an officer of the top rank received 4000 *paṇas* and a servant of the lowest order 5 *paṇas* per month. That this was the practice is supported by Kauṭalya's own statement:

द्वात्रिंशन्मलमासः पञ्चत्रिंशदश्ववाह्यायाः चत्वारिंशद्धस्तिवाह्यायाः ।

(*Arthaśāstra* II. 20.)

"Thirtytwo days make one month for the payment of *foodgrain and salaries* to the army; thirtyfive days for the payment to the stable for horses and forty days for payment to the stable for elephants."[2]

Dr. Shama Sastri thinks that the term *malamāsa* in the text quoted above refers to an intercalary or additional month which occurs once in thirtytwo months, thirtyfive months or forty months[3] but he is silent about the meanings of the expressions *aśvavāhā* and *hastivāhā*. Dr. J. F. Fleet suggested that "*malamāsa* in the text is a corrupt reading for *mallamāsa* and that the passage means that wrestlers were hired by a month of 32 days, horse carriages, by a month of 35 days and elephant carriages, by a month of 40 days."[4] In the light of the Sanskrit[5] and Malayalam[6] commentaries which

2. The rendering is according to the Sanskrit and Malayalam commentaries in Ms. with the writer.

3. See Eng. Trans. of Arthaśāstra, 1915, p. 134.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 540.

5. मलमासः सेनाविक्षेपभक्तदानार्थः । अश्ववाह्यायाः अश्ववाह्यानिमित्तायाः दिनादिकल्पनायाः । Cāṇakyaṭīkā, p. 196, Ms. with the writer.

6. மும்பத்திரண்டு அதோராத்ரம் பலடக்கு தீனிதத் தினும்..... மாஸமாணு. p. 381, Ms. with the writer; and Triv. Edn., p. 170.

explain *malamāsa* as a month for payment to the army, I think it better to take the expression as a corrupt reading for '*balamāsa*'. Bhāṭṭasvāmin in his commentary *Pratipadapañcikā* on the *Arthaśāstra* also confirms the fact that payments were made monthly. In explaining the passage: कोशकोष्ठागाराभ्यां च गृहीत्वा मासलाभम् अश्ववा(ह:ह्वां)[7]चिन्तयेत् । (II. 30 *Aśvādhyakṣa*) he tells us: कोशाद्धिरण्यं कोष्ठागाराध्य(क्षस्यःक्षात्)स्नेहलवणोर्णादिकं गृहीत्वा मासलाभं पञ्चत्रिंशद्दिवसपरिव्ययं गृहीत्वा चाश्वानां मन्दुरादीश्चिन्तयेत् ।

(J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XII, pt. III, supp., p. 170.)

This means that the Superintendent of horses should receive cash payment from the Treasury, and oil, salt and other provisions from the Storehouse for a month of thirtyfive days and attend to the duties of the stable.

II. *Salaries were paid in Silver*

The salaries were paid in '*paṇas*'. This word occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* hundreds of times without qualification. It is not clear if this coin was in gold, silver or copper. Kauṭalya does not refer to gold coins and uses the word *hiraṇya* in the sense of cash or money. The Superintendent of Coins (*Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa*) in Book II, Chapter 12, is required to mint in silver (rūpyarūpa) Paṇa, Half Paṇa, Quarter Paṇa and One-eighth Paṇa from an alloy of four parts of copper and one-sixteenth part of one of the three metals, *Tīkṣṇa* (iron), *Trapu* (tin), Sīsa (lead) or *Añjana* which makes the coins hard and give them different colours[8]. It was also his duty to manufacture in copper (*tāmrarūpa*) the coins *Māṣaka*, Half *Māṣaka*, *Kākiṇī* and Half *Kākiṇī*. These coins are referred to in the Arthaśāstra as popular currency and it appears they

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7. All the printed texts read aśvavāha, 'a horseman', but the commentaries explain the word as a stable for horses (*mandurā*). Kauṭalya mentions *aśvavāhā* (fem.) in the sense of stable for horses and *hastivāhā*, stable for elephants. The context requires that the subject of the sentence should be *Aśvādhyakṣa* as in the preceding one but not *aśvavāha* as taken by the Trivandrum editor. *Aśvavāha* should therefore be emended as *aśvavāhām* and construed as the object of *cintayet*.

8. The rendering follows the *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* which reads: तीक्ष्णत्रपुसीसलोहानाम् अञ्जनस्य माषकप्रमाणेन बीजस्थानीयेन सर्वद्रव्यैकीकरणार्थेन च युक्तं कारयेद् वर्णादिभेदेन चतुर्विधम् ।

were of four different colours.[9] It is therefore clear that the four denominations of *Paṇa* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* were in silver.

It may be noted here that Kauṭalya prescribes a *Paṇa* and a quarter and sufficient foodgrain as monthly wages to agricultural labourers.[10] If the *Paṇa* was in copper, whatever be its money value in his times, it would be inconceivably small to be the monthly wages even of a labourer.

Again in Book III Chapter I, he lays down that the defeated party in a law-suit should pay aṣṭāṁśa (aṣṭabhāga, *i. e.*, one-eight of a paṇa) as wages to the servant who produces the witness and the defendant to the court[11] (पुरुषभृतिरष्टांशः). If the paṇa was of copper one, it would be too small a remuneration for a servant of the court.

There is no mention of *Kārṣāpaṇa* in the *Arthaśāstra*. This coin is known to have been the silver currency of India from the 6th cent. downwards; early Sanskrit and Buddhist literature make frequent mention of it and it could not have been unknown to the author of the *Arthaśāstra*. The Commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmin says that rūpyarūpa (Paṇa) is the same as Kārṣāpaṇa. *Kṣīrasvāmin* in his commentary on *Amarkośa*[12] explains *Kārṣāpaṇa* as a silver coin weighing one *karṣa*; the *Paṇa* in the *Arthaśāstra* is described to be of the same weight. It is probable that Kauṭalya used the short and simple form of the word, *Paṇa*, for *Kārṣāpaṇa* for the coin.

III. *Salaries were paid in kind in addition to those in cash*

Arthaśāstra contemplates numerous taxes levied in kind and refers to a large staff for distribution of foodgrain. The

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9. *Cf.* Nīlakāhāpaṇa in Samantapāsādikā of Buddhaghoṣa, Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*, p. 343.

10. षण्ढवाटगोपालकदासकर्मकरेभ्यो यथापुरुषपरिवापं भक्तं कुर्यात् । सपादपणिकं मासं दद्यात् । (II. 24).

11. साक्षिप्रतिवादिसन्निधापनार्थं भृतानां यद्दिवसभृतिः पणाष्टभागः..... पराजित एव दद्यात् । (Cāṇakyaṭīkā, Ms. R. 5208, p. 261, Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.)

12. कर्षेणबन्धिना आपण्यते व्यवह्रियते अनेन रूप्यरूपकेण स कार्षापणः । (II.9.88; *TSS.* 51, p. 227).

system of payment of salaries in kind in addition to that in cash to government servants continued in different parts of India until recent times. Dr. Shama Sastri has translated the passage, षष्टिवेतनस्यादकं कृत्वा हिरण्यानुरूपं भक्तं कुर्यात् । (V. 3) as, "substituting one *āḍhaka* for the salary of 60 *paṇas*, payment in gold may be commuted for that in kind"[13]. Several scholars following his footsteps hold that payment in kind in the *Arthaśāstra* was a substitute for that in cash and that an *āḍhaka* of food grain cost 60 *paṇas*. The passage only shows the proportion in which payment in kind should be made in addition to that in cash, but not commutation or conversion. The Malayalam commentary[14] explains the passage to mean that in addition to payment in cash, payment in kind should be made at the rate of one *āḍhaka* of staple foodgrains for 60 paṇas of salary. The familiar expression भक्तवेतनम् in the *Arthaśāstra* signifies, therefore, "payment in kind *and* in cash for service rendered". The expression भक्तवेतनविक(ल्पः? ल्पाः) at the close of Book V, chapter 3, means, "forms of payment in kind and cash" and not "the alternatives with regard to subsistence and wages"[15] as understood by Dr. Shama Sastri and other scholars. The word *vikalpa* here means *prakāra* (kind or form) and Kauṭalya uses this word in this sense elsewhere also; cf. कूटयुद्धविकल्पाः (P. 3), "forms of treacherous war", वस्त्रास्तरणप्रावरणविकल्पाः (II. 23), "kinds of garments, blankets and curtains", and शिरोहस्तपादकटीकलापजालकविकल्पाः । (II. 11) varieties of *kalāpas* and *Jālakas* of the head, hand, leg and waist. It is clear from the above that payment in kind in the *Arthaśāstra* was not in lieu of, but in addition to, that in cash.

We have seen that the Sanskrit commentaries explain *bhakta* in *bhakta-vetana* as daily grant of foodgrain. If the rule that the salary of 60 *Paṇas* carries with it one *āḍhaka* of grain applies to all classes of Government servants, it

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13. *Cf.* English Translation, 1915, p. 309.

14. விசஷிக்கும் அறுபது பணம் நிலிதம் உடையது ஆடகம் தென் கொடுப்பிது; இதுகொண்டு நிலிதத்தின் பெருக்கத்துக்குத் தக்கவாறு அரிபெருக்கமும் கண்டுகொள்க;

15. *Ibid.* p. 310.

follows that a servant of the lowest order got a monthly salary of five *Paṇas* and a daily supply of one *āḍhaka* (about one madras measure) of food grain, and an official of the top-most rank got a monthly salary of 4000 *Paṇas* and a daily supply of 800 *āḍhakas* of foodgrain. Probably these were the emoluments that Kauṭalya says would make the Government servants loyal, efficient, contented and above temptation.

CULTURAL LEADERS OF INDIA

Social Philosophers

MANU . YAJNAVALKYA
. KAUTILYA . VATSYAYANA
. TIRUVALLUVAR

KAUTILYA

G. Harihar Sastri

Kautilya and his *Arthasastra* had long been known to scholars from quotations by ancient authors, though the complete work was given to the world by Dr. Shama Sastri of Mysore in 1908. His edition of the work was based on a single manuscript obtained from a pandit of Tanjavur in Tamil Nadu.

A few copies of the work have since been unearthed in Kerala. An ancient text is subject to wear and tear, in the process of transmission through long centuries and the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya is no exception. Hence the exact text could not have come down to us in the form it left the hands of the author over two thousand years ago though it represents, no doubt, for the most part, his original teachings. The discovery of this text ushered in an era of "Kautilya philosophy", shedding fresh light on the social, economic and political institutions of ancient India. There has been some discussion among scholars in regard to the authenticity of the text and the author, but the consensus is that it is the genuine work of a Brahmin called Kautilya, otherwise known as Chanakya and Vishnugupta, who, according to tradition overthrew the Nanda dynasty and placed Chandragupta Maurya on the throne.

Several traditions have gathered round the figure of Kautilya: their manifold nature makes it difficult to sift a reliable account of his life. The tradition underlying the plot of the Sanskrit drama *Mudrarakshasa* is considered to

be very close to the original, and some incidents related in it and found in traditions appear to have grown out of facts. The common features of the Southern traditions are as follows: Kautilya was a native of Golla Vishaya, the hilly tract Kolli in the south. Having lost his father in childhood, he was brought up by his mother. She felt uneasy over his teeth which prophesied future kingship. The dutiful son smashed his teeth and left home for Takshasila, a famous centre of learning in the north-west of India. Endowed as he was with intellect as sharp as *Kusa* grass, Vishnugupta learned all the arts and sciences including the Arthasastras of ancient teachers and in due course became a great scholar. The Nanda kings in Patliputra were known for their patronage of art and learning and it is on account of this that Varsha, Upavarsha, Panini and other great teachers could establish their reputation in their court. In the hope of trying his fortune Kautilya hastened to the royal court and, ignorant of the court etiquette, occupied the seat which was usually meant for eminent scholars. This roused the wrath of the king who got the audacious stranger expelled by the court servants. Young Kautilya could not brook the insult offered to him. Brimming with the consciousness of his potential life, Kautilya swore that he would destroy the Nandas root and branch and left the court. While wandering through the country far and wide in search of a man who would help him in the realisation of his vow, he met Chandragupta of the Maurya clan whose throne had been usurped by the Nandas of Magadha. This event is historic in that it marked the meeting of two great men—an intellectual and a warrior.

Chandragupta had incurred the displeasure of the Nandas and had been banished by them. Kautilya observed the future greatness of sovereignty in him and allied himself with him. They two together started on their campaign against the Nandas, secured the alliance of the frontier forest chiefs and with their aid destroyed the

Nandas. Thus was Chandragupta reinstalled on the throne of Magadha by Kautilya.

Man exists because of *artha*, the *earth* inhabited by man. This *earth* is a source of other arthas, viz., gold, grain, cattle, goods and other comforts of life. As the earth inhabited by man is the most important *artha*, Kautilya defines the *Arthasastra* as the science dealing with the means of acquiring and protecting the earth inhabited by man. This definition, by implication, covers the whole range of state activities. The ancient name of the Arthasastra is *dundaniti*, which is said to have been created by God for the protection of the world. Danda is derived from the root *dam*, to *restrain;* it is a complex term conveying political concept of ancient India. To translate Danda by an exact equivalent in English is difficult, if not impossible, and this is the case with several other political terms used in ancient India, in the context of politics and administration, Danda denotes discipline, restraint, chastisement, coercion, punishment, justice, army and so on. Kautilya interprets Danda as a means to the attainment and preservation of the three sciences, namely, philosophy, Vedas and economics; in other words Danda ensures the spiritual, intellectual and material well-being of man and the judicious exercise of Danda is *dandaniti*, having for its purpose acquiring the unacquired, preserving what has been acquired,.enlarging what has been preserved and distributing what has grown among worthy recipients. "I am Danda among chastisers and the *niti*, the righteous policy of the aspiring conquerors;" says the Lord in the *Bhagavadgita*. Danda is neither *rod* nor *sceptre*, a symbol of sovereignty as in the west, nor is *dandaniti* the law of punishment or the science of government as is generally regarded, for no king is known to have borne a staff in his coronation ceremony and a 'rod of empire' has no historical association in India.

The *Arthasastra* is composed in the form of brief statements or Sutras followed by their explanations and elucidations. It comprises 15 books, 150 sections and 180 chapters. The brief statements are enumerated in the first chapter and each chapter, from the second onward, deals with one or more of these brief statements with sufficient details, and ends with a sloka or slokas. The first-five books describe internal administration, the next eight foreign relations, the fourteenth and fifteenth secret practice and the plan of the work, respectively.

Vinaya, or discipline of the princes, is explained in the first book. A prince is trained under specialised teachers in the four traditional sciences, which impart discipline to him. He is required to be in constant touch with the learned elders, which tends to promote his discipline. His discipline becomes perfect, when he is able to control his senses, his six inner enemies, by eschewing lust, anger, greed, pride, arrogance and foolhardiness. He should appoint a purohita of eminent character and attainments and follow him, as a pupil follows his teacher, a son his father, or a servant his master. As a further safeguard against his inner foes, he should have teachers and ministers who would check him when he evinces inclination to stray away from the path of duty and righteousness. Kautilya begins his work with the statement, "here are the instructions for a king in regard to his conduct", and adds that the practice of his instructions enables a prince to keep his senses under control and make him a proper ruler. It is on account of this that this work has been rightly compared by Western writers to *del Principe* (the Prince)—the text-book of statecraft by the Florentine political philosopher, Niccolo Machiavelli.

Rulership is not possible without proper assistance as no cart moves on a single wheel; the king should appoint ministers, councillors and other officials after

testing their character and ability to work. He cannot protect his kingdom unless he is protected. He should keep constant vigil for the safety of his persons in his dealings with unruly sons, in the enjoyment of pleasure in the harem, in the routine of his day-to-day life.

The second is the most important book and a body of literature in itself. It describes the duties of the executive officers of the State, giving information on the formation of new villages, the distribution of unarable lands, the building of forts, settlement of State revenue, financial administration, the composition of royal writs, State granary, mining, metals, industrial establishments, the standardisation of weights and measures, agriculture, textiles, the institution of courtesans, control of liquor, trade and gambling, navigation, cattle breeding, horses, elephants, chariots, passports and on the administration of collectors and the city superintendent.

The laws of Kautilya are given in the third book. They are earlier, more comprehensive and practical than those in the *Smritis* of Manu, Yajnavalkya and Narada. The fourth book is devoted to the protection of people from deceitful artisans, traders, dacoits and other unsocial elements and remedial measures against national calamities. Secret methods to get rid of treacherous ministers, replenishment of a depleted treasury, payment of salaries to Government servants, the conduct of State employees and courtiers and continuous sovereignty are dealt with in the fifth book. The sixth and the seventh books deal with the seven constituent elements of the State and the six measures to be adopted in relation to foreign powers. The eighth and the ninth books treat of Vyasanas of calamities of the seven constituent elements, the precautions to be taken and the preparation to be made before starting on an expedition of conquest. The eleventh deals with the methods of 'sowing dissension with a view to keeping *sanghas or digarchies* under control; the twelfth, with the conduct of a weak king towards the

powerful; and the thirteenth with the stratagems to be used in capturing an enemy fort.

The science of polity in ancient India presupposes the social order of the Varnasrama Dharma. The social order, being the outcome of centuries of profound thought and carefully recorded experience, was believed to have held the society together and given it stability. A man doing his own duty imposes discipline on himself, and governs his own conduct and his relationship with his fellow citizens. The duty of the ruler is to see that each man does this duty which is; by virtue of his innate nature, his own dharma and that he is not interfered with by others. Any meddling with the social order, was thought to be fraught with grave consequences.

Brahmins served the State by means, their counsel, mantra. "Kshatriya power, animated by the counsel of Brahmins wins bloodless victory" says Kautilya. They were, as a rule, custodians of the spiritual values of life. They had been ministering to the religious and intellectual instincts of the people and enjoying certain privileges and concessions reserved for them from the remote past. As a follower of the precedents, Kautilya recommends that, in the newly formed villages, Srotriyas or learned Brahmins along with priests, preceptors and chaplains shall be granted lands, free from free-labour and tax and that the grant shall be inherited by their worthy heirs. In the context of inheritance, it is also stated that the heirless property of a learned Brahmin shall not be escheat but go to those learned in the three Vedas. A Brahmin is exempted from payment at ferries and allowed to take part in popular entertainments without payment of contributions*. He is believed to be an adherent of truth and Brahmin witnesses in a court of law are asked to swear by truth. A Brahmin offender is not subjected to corporal punishment, but is given a more painful and humiliating punishment: he is banished from

the kingdom or sent to work in mines, after proclaiming his crime in public and brandishing his forehead with a mark proclaiming his guilt. For covetting the kingdom, outraging the royal harem, instigating wild tribes against the king and other grave crimes, a Brahmin is put in the dungeon, but not put to death.

A Sudra was below a Vaisya, in social order, but had equal footing in the pursuit of agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade, while art, crafts, dancing, etc., were his own occupations. Kautilya lays down that Sudras, who are tillers of soil, should be the major population in the newly formed villages in the State. The mixed communities were classed with Sudras in the matter of following customs and avocations, while Chandalas, outside the pale of Aryan society, lived in the extremity of the city and the State.

Along with the rise of monastic sects during the time of the Buddha, there was an upheaval of ascetic sects among the Vedic order. There was no restriction for a male or female to become an ascetic among Brahmin and other classes. The people had high regard for asceticism in general and treated the ascetics with pious hospitality. As asceticism provides an easy means of livelihood, the lazy and the frivolous took shelter under it. Kautilya lays down severe punishment to a householder who embraces asceticism without providing for his family, whose sexual urges are not extinct in him and who has not obtained permission of judges. Anyone who converts a woman to asceticism is also similarly punished and all sham ascetics are brought to book.

Non-Vedic ascetics, known as *pashandas*, comprised numerous divisions differing from one another in dress, beliefs and in social status. Certain sections of *pashandas* were treated with equal courtesy and respect with the Brahmanical ascetics. These were wandering ascetics among the Vedic and non-Vedic orders. They lived in

large open ground causing trouble to one another; Kautilya asks them to put up with small troubles and accommodate one another, lest they be driven out. Hermits, ascetics, students (brahmacharis) as well as poor innocent *pashandas* who happen to pay fines in legal disputes are required to observe penance, fast and worship, in accordance with their religious practices, for the prosperity of the State.

There was no slavery in India as it is understood in the West. There were dasas who were dependants and domestic servants, who redeemed themselves by repayment of their debt. Kautilya distinctly says that no Aryan could be a dasa (*natveva Aryasya dasabhavah*) and lays down punishment for the sale of Aryan children.

The laws of Kautilya in regard to marriage and marital relations are more comprehensive and liberal than those of Manu, Yajnavalkya, Narada and other Smriti writers. He allows under certain circumstances remarriage, dissolution of marriage and *niyoga* and under State supervision drink, gambling and the institution of courtesan, for reasons of finance and as aids to detect crimes.

The State, as described by Kautilya, was essentially a monarchy; hereditary under normal circumstances. He also deals with republican and oligarchical forms of Government and suggests methods for bringing them under some sort of political unity.

In the Vedic period, a *samiti* (Assembly) formed the core of the local government. The term *parishad-vala* (the King in Council) of Panini shows that the king, was inseparably connected with the Parishad, a political institution. From the description of mantri-parishad by Kautilya, we understand that it is "a well-established institution, invested with definite constitutional powers, in relation to the king and the business of the State". There is to be no State undertaking without previous

deliberation in a council of ministers. The king consults his ministers individually and collectively, chooses the best counsel, *matipraveka*, and puts it into practice without losing time. In urgent matters he follows what the majority among the councillors declares and what, in his opinion, is conducive to the successful accomplishment of the business on hand, Karya-Siddhi-Karam va; it should be noted here Kautilya uses va to mean a conjunction and not an alternative. Thus the underlying principle of the monarchy, as conceived by Kautilya, would appear to represent the highest common measure of the highest intelligence of the highest people. Among the seven *Prakritis*, the elements that constitute the State, namely, the king, the minister, the country (inhabited by people), the treasury, the fort, the army and the ally, the first element figures as the most prominent. The king and his sovereignty are said to be the sum total of all the constituents of the State. In the organic conception of the State, however, each element is as much concerned with the well-being of the other, as with the whole. Kautilya raises his king to a high pitch of excellence endowing him with a large number of qualities that tend to make him an Atmayan—a master of himself—a synthesis of sovereignty and spirituality. The king, so endowed, brings the other constitutents not so endowed to his own level. He sets standards to his people to follow. He has no interest, apart form that of his subjects. "Their happiness is his happiness; their sorrow, his sorrow." There is to be a relationship of perfect confidence between the ruler and the ruled. The "king" in English means a chief or leader; while "rajan" in Sanskrit means one pleasing to all. The king is responsible to the people for their protection as well as the security of their life and property; and the tax he receives is the remuneration paid to him for this service which he renders to his people.

Kautilya knows that power placed in any human-being, invariably corrupts his nature and temperament.

Hence he warns the king of ungoverned senses and perverted disposition with the dire consequences of vitiating the other constitutents, and ultimately being killed by his own people or falling a prey to his enemies. This idea reminds us of Lord Acton's well-known maxim, "Power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely". The aim of *Vijigisu*, an aspiring conqueror, should not be to eliminate other political powers of divergent interests and ideologies by putting one against the other, but he should rise above their differences, string them together and make them into a united and harmonious whole called *Ekaisvarya*, attributed to godhood by our national poets.

Dr. Vincent Smith calls the Mauryan system a highly centralised form of bureaucracy. But in reality democratic elements were visible in it. The scheme of administration is to build up on the existing foundation. The king is to be assisted by a group of eighteen functionaries traditionally known as *mahamatras* and *tirthas*. Most of them are executive officers, controlling the entire field of social, economic and political activities in the State. The word *mahamatra* denotes a high dignitary. The *mahamatra* order represents different administrative grades and social order including the non-Aryan hill tribes. They had a separate court of law, where they examined *mahamatra* offenders: Megasthenes's "Episkopi", overseers, who enquired into and superintended all that took place in India and made a report to the king, appear to be the same as the *mahamatra*, who according to Kautilya, intervened in all State affairs and reported to the king the consensus of their opinion about the impartial discharge of duty by their subordinate officers. During the time of Kautilya, they were a power causing concern to the State, and harsh measures are recommended to suppress the seditious among them summarily. The eighteen *mahamatras* mentioned in the text are:

Mantrin : the minister

Purohita : the chaplain

Senapati : the commander-in-chief

Yuvaraja : the crown prince

Dauvarika : the palace usher

Antarvamsika : the officer-in-charge of the royal harem

Prasasta : the minister-in-charge of encampment

Samaharta : the administrative head of the country and collector of revenue

Sannidhata : the director of stores

Pradesta : the magistrate

Nayaka : the Commandant

Pauravyavaharika: the judge

Karmnantika : the chief architect

Mantriparishad-Adhyaksha : the head of the council of ministers.

Dandapala : the chief army officer

Durgapala : the officer-in-charge of the fort

Antapala : the officer-in-charge of the frontier fort

Atavika : the chief of the forest tribes.

Sannidhata, also called Bhandagarika, is the minister in charge of State revenue and stores (the Chancellor of the Exchequer). He figures as the fourth highest officer in the Buddhist republican states. He is to supervise, among other duties, the treasury, accounts, the industrial establishments, granary, trade, forestry and armoury. He is required to be conversant with the receipt, expenditure, and the balance of the State. The Samaharta sets up sources of revenue, collects the revenue of the State, and with the help of big staff register, maintains information uptodate about the inhabitants, their occupation, resources in land and cattle, their expenditure and so on, in each village and city. Under the supervision of the two

ministers, there are some thirty Adhyakshas or superintendents of various departments working in company with accountants, writers, coin examiners and receivers of balances.

Durgapala or Nagarika is the officer-in-charge of law and order, sanitation, prison and so on, in the fortified capital. In the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa, Nagarika figures as the brother-in-law of the king and the chief police officer. There are four Antapalas each one guarding the four frontier forts, the intervening regions being guarded by the wild tribes. These forts serve the purpose of gates of the State, one at the extremity of each quarter. Antapalas supervise the entry into and exit from of men and issue passes to the incoming goods charging them and road cess. They are paid a salary equal to that of a judge. Atavikas or Atavis seem to be the chiefs of forest tribes entrenched in the jungles or forests of Atavirajya. These tribes are said to be a well-organised brave autonomous people and interested in plunder. They are called *isvaras* claiming polite reference in the royal writs addressed to them. As Antapals and Atavikas occupy strategic positions, they form a source of danger to the State; Kautilya seems to have ranked them as the last two *mahamatras*, with a view to ensuring their loyalty.

Dauvarika and Antarvamiska are the same as Antaramatyas or inner ministers. They ate high officers in the palace and are in personal attendance on the King.

Lekhaka is rendered as Sasanadhyaksha, the superintendent of royal writs; as the entire administrative machinery turns on the pivot of royal writs, he seems to be an important executive officer in the State. It may be noted here that Olai-Nayaka, a Tamil rendering of Sasanadhyaksha, was the designation of the chief secretary in the Government of the Cholas. The text of the *Arthasastra* does not deal with the functions assigned to other *mahamatras* in the State.

The officers of the highest, the middling and the lowest order are selected on the merits of their qualifications. Then they are secretly tested in regard to their mental attitude towards piety, lucre, lust and fear; those who come out successful in the test of piety are appointed judges and magistrates. Those who pass the monetary test are taken in the Revenue Department; those who are proof against lust are taken to the outer and inner divisions of the king's harem; those who stand the test of fear are absorbed in the personal service of the king; and those who get through all the tests are employed as Councillors. The officers taken to the Revenue Departments are, however, further examined in practical work, placed on probation under the supervision of the officers called Utaradhyakshas and after a service of proved honesty, loyalty and devotion made permanent in their offices, *nityadhikarah*.

Kautilya mentions two separate courts in regard to the administration of justice, viz. Dharmasthiya and Kanta-kasodhana. The former is presided over by a panel of three Dharmasaths or judges. It is generally concerned with civil litigation, and judicial decision is based on Dharma, (canon law), Vyavahara, (procedural law), Charitfa (usage), in the order of receding importance, failing on these three, on Rajasasana or royal decree based on Nyaya (justice) evolved on principles of reason promoting social righteousness. Kantakasodhana or the suppression of anti-social elements deals with the crimes of people and of Government servants in relation to their official duties. It is administered by a panel of three Pradeshtas, magistrates, assisted by secret agents, employed for detection of crimes; and punishments are given generally in accordance with regulations laid down in the text. It is said that the criminal law in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya is characterised by uncompromising sternness and slight regard for human life. This view is, however, inconsistant with the statement of

Kautilya that the just exercise of Danda ensures safety and security of all human beings, *pranabhritam yogakshemavaha*. He devotes a separate chapter for commutation of all forms of corporal punishment with the exception of punishment by death on payment of money, and lays down that the magistrate remaining neutral between the interest of the State and of the people shall determine the amount of fines after taking into consideration factors such as the social status of the offender, the nature and motive of the offence, its present and future effects, its time and place. He further adds that harsh forms of punishment are laid down in the Sastras of great teachers and that simple forms of punishment alone are lawful in the case of ordinary crimes.

The Mauryan polity had a long tradition before Kautilya. His *Arthasastra* is a summary, criticism and improvement of the previous treatises on the subject. His work was popular for many centuries in the past, it has given rise to the production of many commentaries on it. The concepts and expressions of Kautilya have got woven into the texture of ancient inscriptions and in literary and scientific texts of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. The *Arthasastra* was more widely received in the extreme south, it has a Tamil-Malayalam commentary written seven or eight centuies ago, and Kautilyan terms such as Vyaji (a tax) and panya-gram (gift or present) are current even today as 'vasi' and 'paniyaram' among Tamilians.

Kautilya was a great political thinker and his strong virile personality is observed throughout the thoughts and expressions in the *Arthasastra*. The text is apparently simple, but it is intricate and sometimes difficult for us to understand. However, the indefatigable labours of "Kautilya-scholars" have thrown fresh light on many problems concerning the political, economic and social conditions of ancient India.

The name of the author of the *Arthasastra* is now accepted as Kautilya, though the southern traditions persist in calling him Kautalya. Rakshasa, a character in the drama *Mudraraksasa* describes Kautalya, his adversary, as Kutilamati, (crooked-minded) and for the sake of alliteration calls him Kautilya (crookedness), instead of Kautalya and his name came to be written as Kautilya. The author had his peregrinations throughout the country in search of a person whom he could place on the throne of the Nandas and he had ample opportunities of acquainting himself with the political problems that were confronting the world at that time. It is probable that he wrote his work during his period. Some modern scholars are in search of finding clues in the work, with a view to solving problems facing the modern world. However, patient work and intensive research of the text will have much more in store for us in that direction, Kautilya's advice to the king was the golden mean of reconciliation of expediency and theory favourable for social righteousness. Whatever its value for us living today in the age of advanced development of science and technology, one great merit of this work lies in that it bestows on us the right of having possessed in our ancient past, a work on statecraft, which when compared to the Prince of Machiavelli, is on many grounds far superior in quality and far larger in content.